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POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN MARYLAND.

It is not a pleasing task for a citizen of Maryland to relate the recent history and describe the actual condition of Maryland politics. The result can hardly leave him proud of his State or enthusiastic as to the merits of popular government. But, however repulsive the study, it may well be fruitful. The first step towards health is for a sick man to realize that he needs medicine; and, if others would escape his sufferings, they also must understand his ailments and how he contracted them.

An inveterate malady of the body politic in Maryland is the indulgence of public opinion for offences against the freedom and purity of the suffrage. It is safe to say that a majority of those there holding prominent positions of public trust are widely and reasonably believed to have at some stage of their political career either taken part in fraud, bribery, or violence at legal or "primary" elections, or knowingly accepted offices or nominations secured by such means. And of the really influential politicians, whether in or out of office, the big and little "bosses" and members of "rings" of various diameters, who are the State's true rulers, every one has been more or less implicated in scandals of this character, and nearly every one notoriously owes his power to dexterity and success in falsifying the expression of the people's or of his party's will at the polls. One of them was a leader in the disorders of "know-nothing" times; another was presented for "stuffing" a ballot-box while serving as judge of election in 1875; a third (of somewhat humbler degree) was tried for

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illegally and fraudulently striking names from the list of voters, as officer of registration in 1885; the best-known and most nearly omnipotent of all has been publicly and repeatedly accused of complicity in corrupt practices at elections and challenged to sue a responsible accuser; unlike his brother-boss (and brother-senator) from Pennsylvania, he has always declined. Many of these men have criminal records; those who have not are indebted for immunity, not to any public belief in their innocence, not even, in most cases, to the want of tangible evidence against them, but simply to their "pull." Whether technically criminals or not, they are the allies and patrons of habitual law-breakers. Try to prosecute a gambler or brothel-keeper or offender against the liquor laws, and you are morally certain to find him shielded by the influence of some politician. Indeed, the wishes of professional offenders of the classes indicated have great weight in the choice of public officers, at least in Baltimore; while it was doubtful whom the bosses would select as State's attorney last autumn, one of the candidates openly congratulated himself on being promised the support of "all the policy-dealers except two."[1]

Honorable men in Maryland do not approve of such persons and such practices, but they too often and too readily accept them as parts of the order of nature. They have come to look upon cheating at elections and the usurption of political power by the least worthy elements of the community as almost matters of course. They no longer feel the instinctive loathing, the paroxysm of contempt and disgust, awakened in a fresh conscience by sudden contact with a human

[1] Some years ago I became acquainted accidentally with the "inside history" of the following suggestive incident. A young member of the bar wished to be made a school commissioner. These officers are elected by the City Council, and, by a generally recognized custom, each member of the first branch of the Council has the privilege of choosing the commissioner allotted to his ward. The councilman from this young man's ward was owned by a small boss and the latter by a great one; so the aspirant applied himself, with apparent success, to secure the favor of all three. When, however, he considered his choice certain, he was suddenly informed by his patrons that they must disappoint him; "the bawdy house interest" demanded "recognition" in the school board, and its chosen representative was a man from the same ward. An unexpected complication prevented either candidate from actually obtaining the position. It is right to say that the second of these was a man, so far as I know, of fair character and good morals, and that his popularity with the "interest" in question arose, I believe, from causes in no wise discreditable to him. Such an indorsement, however, was a singular recommendation for an officer having a voice in the selection of many female teachers and charged with the moral training of all the children attending our public schools.

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reptile; familiarity has made this slimy being endurable. And as they have to live in a society so governed, they learn, with greater or less repugnance, according to the individual temperament, but all finally in some measure, to adapt themselves to their surroundings. Even when they seek to make things better, they are led to employ the accustomed agencies in their work.

This was curiously illustrated by the recent contest over the State's attorneyship to which I have just referred. The present incumbent of that highly important office had already held it for three full terms, or twelve years. His administration had been frequently and severely criticised by successive grand juries, and several of those who had been foremen of these bodies determined, no doubt from motives highly praiseworthy, to prevent, if possible, his renomination. As they were democrats in the best party standing, shining lights, in fact, of the "Democratic Business Men's Association" (an organization which had furnished the dominant party liberally with money and respectability in three hotly contested campaigns when both were sorely needed), the means to this end would have seemed to a stranger obvious enough. They might have been expected to select an opposing candidate, and then promote the choice at the party "primaries" of delegates to the nominating convention pledged to the latter's support. Probably not one of them so much as thought of taking this course; to have adopted it would have made them laughing-stocks. It would be a sheer absurdity in Baltimore to contest a democratic primary. If the bosses are with you, any trouble you may take is wholly superfluous; if they are against you, they will decide before a vote is cast by what majority you shall be beaten.[1] The gentlemen in question knew this well enough, and acted on the knowledge. They prepared a petition for a change in the office, disguised as a recommendation of a different person for the nomination, secured as many signatures to this as they could, and appointed a committee to lay it before the Supreme City Boss. The great man received the deputation affably, professed a gracious interest in the proper enforcement of the law among his subjects, suggested, with the modesty born of conscious power, and with a becoming regard for the *convenances*, that their memorial should be filed, not with "a mere private citizen" like himself, but with the chairman of the City Executive Committee,

[1] Of course this is true only when the bosses are united; when they fight each other, as happened in July, 1887, a bitter struggle ensues. Its outcome proves nothing but the relative skill and audacity of the opposite factions in cheating.

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and dismissed them with a promise to "do what he could for them." Apparently he was as good as his word, for soon afterward the State's attorney published a letter declining to be a candidate for renomination; but the petitioners were at the same time notified that the gentleman they had suggested was not a *persona grata*, and were invited to submit several other names for consideration. It was no easy matter to find several lawyers at once reasonably well fitted for the position, agreeable to the "ring" and willing to serve; but after much running about and meeting many refusals, the business men laid before the rulers four names, and simultaneously several persons whom the former would not recommend (among them the one whose *naïveté* has been noted) began to pose as candidates, not for the suffrages of voters at the primary, but for the choice of the bosses.

> "But although they smiled and smirked and bowed,
> No one found favor of all the crowd."

The fact was, the First Deputy Boss had "kicked." This potentate is in general reputation credited with the patronage of all the best-known and most profitable gambling establishments of the city, and to his clients the question of who should be public prosecutor was of great and practical importance. His insubordination reached the verge of open mutiny, and after protracted negotiations it was announced that the candidate would be a young gentleman, little known professionally, and not previously thought of for the position, but who had served in the last legislature, and, unfortunately, given great offence to certain of the "democratic business men" by aiding to defeat a bill for state inspection of grain which was warmly advocated by some and as warmly resisted by others of their number. His enemies besieged the bosses with protests; the patience of these magnates became exhausted, and at the last moment the nominating convention was ordered to select the old incumbent, notwithstanding his letter of withdrawal. This it did unanimously,[1] and he accepted, of course. As some of those who had protested against him threatened to scratch the ticket, it was generally understood that orders had been issued to provide him at the election with a larger majority than any other candidate. Since the introduction of the Australian ballot, however, the machine does not yet work quite smoothly in this respect, and, if these orders were given, they were not carried out.

[1] Nominations of the democratic party in Baltimore (at least for offices of any consequence) are now nearly always unanimous; like the French parliaments when the king addressed them from a *lit de justice*, the conventions are called not to frame decrees, but to register them.

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The autocratic power over nominations to public office, thus usurped by a handful of unscrupulous and disreputable professional politicians and so openly exercised in this instance, is no new phenomenon in Baltimore. Nearly ten years ago, on October 27, 1882, Mr. Bernard Carter, a democrat of the strictest party fealty and afterwards president of the State Convention of 1887, as well as one of the leaders of the bar, said in a speech often quoted: "I tell you your political liberties are in danger. There is a *clique* who have seized the democratic organization and who hold it for personal aggrandizement. They have said to you (I am talking to democrats): 'We have determined who shall be the judges.' Frank Morrison, Robert J. Slater, and Rasin[1] say to any young man who aspires to office: 'You shan't be nominated unless we say so, and we won't say so unless you pay for it.'"[2]

No one has better reason to appreciate the truth and force of Mr. Carter's words than the present mayor of Baltimore. A perennial candidate for the place he holds, Mr. Latrobe has had a very singular experience. In 1873 he unsuccessfully sought the nomination; in 1875 he first secured it; in 1877 the managers (already powerful, but not yet recognized as omnipotent) bade him stand aside in favor of George P. Kane; but he made a spirited though futile fight in the convention. They gave him the nomination when Mr. Kane died in office, and again in 1879. Since then he has every two years announced himself as a candidate, and the announcement has always been followed by all sorts of published "testimonials," pseudonymous letters of recommendation in the newspapers, resolutions of indorsement by "clubs" previously unknown, and all the marks of an active and by no means inexpensive canvass. Yet, while he has been nominated without apparent opposition in 1883, '87, and '91, because the bosses, after more or less hesitation, decided to let him be, he has been as often summarily notified, on the very eve of the convention's meeting, that another would be its choice. He was obliged to withdraw for the benefit of William Pinkney Whyte in 1881, of James Hodges in 1885, of Robert C. Davidson in 1889; and in each case he submitted, not, indeed, without a whimper, but without a struggle. Mr. James Hodges, a man of very different temper from Mr. Latrobe, complained bitterly of ingratitude and deception on the part of the managers when in-

[1] Of this triumvirate, the first two have shared the fate of Antony and Lepidus; the third is the ruling Augustus.

[2] Baltimore "Sun" of October 28, 1882.

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formed that he was not to be nominated for governor by the last state convention,[1] but he made no attempt to secure the nomination when their decree had gone forth. For some reason, probably because it was deemed wise to be certain, not only that Mr. Gorman should be nominated (that *had* been certain for months), but that no disappointed aspirant for the other senatorship should make his renomination other than unanimous, the democratic members of the present legislature were not told whom their caucus was to select as successor to the late Senator Wilson, until they had balloted fruitlessly for two or three days; in the interim it was ludicrous to note how sedulously those in the best standing, especially among the city delegates, refused to disclose their preferences to interviewers, and threw away their votes on impossible candidates. While awaiting orders, they had no right to have preferences, and their votes belonged to them only to waste until needed by their superiors. They wished the latter to see that they knew this.

The attempt already described to secure a different State's attorney is, and it may be hoped will remain, the last of numerous efforts on the part of well-meaning members of the dominant party to induce its leaders to select good men for office; these efforts have sometimes effected a slight temporary improvement in the *personnel* of the office-holders, as in the case of the late mayor, Mr. Davidson, but never any change in the inherently vicious system of their choice, and have always served in the end only to give the bosses a longer lease of power and a firmer grip. The last serious attempt of the same element to contend openly against them within the party lines, and by the use of the party machinery, was made eight years ago in the pri-

[1] His complaints were probably in some measure unjust. It is generally believed that Mr. Hodges *was* promised the governorship, but that the bosses *could not* in this instance keep their word. The canvass of the present governor was an innovation in Maryland methods; by posing as "the farmer in politics," "the miners' friend," and in various other more or less "effective" attitudes, he gained so much popularity in the counties that the ring was obliged to make terms with him. His campaign was said to be engineered by one of the most unscrupulous politicians in the State, and it was certainly "boomed" by a very disreputable *claque;* nevertheless, his success is an encouraging symptom in our politics. It shows that outside of the city, at least, it is possible to become a democratic candidate for high office even when the ruling oligarchy has allotted the place to another. It is not improbable, however, that Governor Brown succeeded because he caught the bosses napping; they laughed at him for wasting his time and money, and neglected his growing strength until they suddenly found that to "choke him off" from his prize might lead to a dangerous bolt.

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maries and conventions of 1883 by the "Young Men's Democratic Association," a short-lived organization formed after the "New Judge Campaign" of 1882. Patriotic democrats who recognize that it is absurd to ask professional lobbyists[1] and habitual law-breakers to choose for office men who would deprive them of their living and bring them to punishment for their crimes, and hopeless to overthrow them within the party while primaries are "run" very much as Ah Sin played euchre, have been led to seek relief for the State and purification for the party itself by independent political action. This has been tried in a great many different forms; by nominating a ticket wholly separate from any other in the field, as in 1879; by indorsing the republican nominations, as in 1887; by promoting "labor" movements, as in 1877, 1878, and 1886; by "fusion" with the republicans and support of a "mixed" ticket, as in 1875, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1889, and 1891. These repeated struggles have not been altogether fruitless; to one is due the election of a non-partisan judiciary in 1882, to another the defeat of the proposed constitutional convention in 1887. They have wholly, although indirectly, brought about the improvements of the past four years in the registration and election laws, and,

[1] During an investigation which I conducted as counsel for a committee of the City Council in May, 1889, as to the means used to secure the passage of an ordinance to supply the city with gasoline for some of the street lamps, one of the witnesses (a certain W. G. Webb) testified as follows:

Q. Did you by persuasion or any other means approach any one in regard to this matter?

A. I would like to say that my experience with the gasoline business as it has existed in Baltimore for the last eight or nine years is that I would just as soon undertake to get an ordinance through the Council to remove Washington's monument to the headwaters of Jones' Falls as I would to open the gasoline question and try to get an ordinance passed without the personal influence of the politicians of Baltimore. It was impossible and could not be done.

This is likewise an old story. On March 24, 1884, Mr. Bernard Carter, whom I have already quoted, in a letter published in all the daily papers referring to a bill then pending in the legislature to permit the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to construct an elevated railway on Pratt street, said (the italics are his): ". . . The Baltimore and Ohio . . . has assembled at Annapolis the largest lobby that for many years has there congregated. It has drawn its army from all parts of the State. . . . It has a *generalissimo* of all the forces who . . . is constantly on the field of action. . . . The *generalissimo* is the Hon. Arthur P. Gorman, United States Senator of Maryland. The officer *second in command* is the Insurance Commissioner of the State of Maryland. The captains are holders of *important offices* in the city of Baltimore; and then there are the requisite number of privates and non-commissioned officers, *and last, but not least,* there is no lack of the '*sinews of war.*'"

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however inefficient, extravagant, and corrupt the administration of both state and city affairs may have been *with* them, it is highly probable that both would have been far worse *without*. Nevertheless, the immediate results of all except that of 1882 have been decidedly unsatisfactory. For this fact there are at least two sufficient and obvious causes, in the frequency, success, and impunity of systematic frauds on the suffrage, and the inefficiency as a political organization and merited disrepute of the party of opposition.

The first is an evil of long standing in Maryland. So long ago as April 29, 1794, Hon. Samuel Smith, in debate upon the contested election of Trigg vs. Preston, in the House of Representatives of the third Congress, said: ". . . An election in a southern State is nothing but a nursery of superlative mischief."

The report of his speech proceeds:

"Much has been said about the enormity of knocking down a justice of the peace; and in the report of the affair it was stated as if the magistrate had been at the court-house in his official capacity. Now, sir, said Mr. S., in this part of it the report is not fair. The justice of the peace was not there in his official capacity. He was there drunk, sir; and he gave the first blow to the man who knocked him down. Mr. S. had, by the first accounts of this election, been very much prejudiced against the election of the sitting member; but when he came to examine closely into the subject, he declared that he had never known an election in the southern States where there was so little mischief. He was sorry, for the honor of his part of the country, to give this account of it to the eastern members; but in point of common justice to Mr. Preston, they ought to be informed that a southern election is quite a different sort of transaction from one of theirs.

"In the evidence before the House, it had been stated that one person was seen at the court-house with a club under his coat. But, sir, said Mr. S., *I suppose that five hundred of my constituents had clubs under their coats;* so that if this be sufficient for putting an end to an election, the committee may begin by dissolving mine. If the committee are to break up every election where persons were seen drunk, they will have a great deal of work upon hand, sir. In what way were elections for southern members carried on? A man of influence came to the place of election at the head of two or three hundred of his friends; and to be sure *they would not, if they could help it, suffer anybody on the other side to vote as long as they were there.* It was certainly a very bad custom, and must very much surprise an eastern member; but it was the custom, and perfectly known to be so, and therefore it was very injurious to hold up the conduct of Captain Preston as a pretence for dissolving the election. . . . As to the censure on the military, inserted in the report, he did not agree with it. It would be a very fine reason, to be sure, to vacate a seat in that House because one of the electors had been seen with a club under his coat! Mr. S. *was sorry to give such a description to the eastern members of the manners of his country;* but he did so, that he might hinder them from being hurt at the facts brought forward in the evidence. He concluded by reminding

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these members that it would be ridiculous to measure one thing by another which was perfectly opposite, or to judge of a southern by the custom of an eastern election."

Mr. Smith's competency to describe the practices common at elections in *all* southern States may perhaps be questioned, but his long public service and undoubted eminence certainly entitled him to speak with authority as to what he called "the manners of his country." And that these "manners" did not soon improve is manifest from the debates on this subject in the "reform" convention which framed the constitution of 1851.

The subject of the "elective franchise" was under discussion for several weeks in that body. On January 13, 1851, Judge Dorsey asked: "Ought not the State to interfere when persons, who are called in the newspapers 'rowdies,' go from poll to poll committing outrageous acts, and preventing the free exercise of the elective franchise?" The next day Mr. Dirickson said "it seemed to be generally admitted that, in every part of the State, the ballot-box had been greatly corrupted." On the 15th Mr. McLane remarked: "Until he came to this convention, and heard the statements made by other gentlemen, he had formed no idea of the alleged extent to which fraud and corruption have been carried. . . . If the statements made here are true, then our State is corrupt to the core," and, in the language of the report, "went on to inquire: 'What are the causes of the corruption of the ballot-box in this State? Let us find out the cause, and apply the remedy to that. The cause is to be found in the unhealthy condition of public opinion. It is because public opinion winks at these corruptions that they have grown to their present enormity. Unless it is in response to public opinion, we can never make penal laws which will prove efficient to check the evil,'" adding, "his remedy was to cure public opinion, and then our penal laws will prove sufficient." Mr. Spencer during the same debate suggested certain safeguards and then said: "On these, and the remedies suggested by the gentleman from Cecil (Mr. McLane), and a proper tone in public morals, will rest our security against the corruption of the elective franchise. It is not right or just to attribute them to the humble, the uninformed, the poor. They originate in more elevated sources and flow from a higher fountain—from those who occupy seats of power and who are distinguished by wealth and station. Official dignitaries have connived at, encouraged, and often taken the lead in them. The humble instrument is not as much to be blamed as the tempter who, taking advan-

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tage of his necessities, seduces him by an alluring bribe. Men of the highest talent and education in the State are implicated."

Five days later, the debate having been resumed, Mr. J. U. Dennis said: "For his own part, he believed that in every section of the State, more or less, these frauds prevailed. It was in the nature of the government and in the nature of the human character that it should be so." The next day Mr. Merrick "referred to the condition of public opinion as evidence of the light estimate in which this crime of fraud upon the ballot-box had heretofore been held, and the necessity of infusing a new and more healthy tone into the public mind by proper and adequate provisions. Let the present and rising generation be taught that this was not the light and trivial offence which it had hitherto been deemed, but that it was in fact a great and heinous crime. . . . He called the attention of gentlemen to the enormous consequences which must result if this mischief was permitted to increase and multiply, as the convention had been told from various quarters it had increased and multiplied for some years past, and as it would continue to do if it was regarded with the least toleration. He believed that the most imminent peril to the continuation of our institutions was to be apprehended from this very source." Mr. Chambers announced that "his hope lay in this: We were taking a new start—we were about to have a new constitution—old things and old measures were passing away. He was disposed to hope, and he believed, that the honest, respectable, intelligent portion of the people (which was the immense mass of the community) was so satiated, so gorged, with the miserable state of things which existed, and for which all former remedies had proved inefficient, that they would readily avail themselves of the means to get rid of it." Mr. Spencer, alluding to the frequent failures of justice in dealing with crimes of this character, declared: "If, as had been intimated, there had been no convictions, it was not the law which prevented it, but it was the morbid sentiment that prevailed among men of position which had led to that result." [1]

Under the new constitution, as under the old, election offences were frequent, grievous, and usually committed with impunity, but from the excess of evil there came at last a remedy; the disorder, violence, and even bloodshed which attended the "American" movement aroused a strong and healthy reaction in public opinion. Under its influence the Police Board Act was passed,[2] insuring, almost for the

[1] Debates and Proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention (William McNeir), vol. i., pp. 32, 36, 47, 48, 52, 85, 89, 90. [2] Laws of 1860, chapter VII.

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first time in the municipal history, a really fair and free election in Baltimore, and a better era seemed about to dawn, when the prospect was clouded by the Civil War. While this lasted, Maryland was virtually a conquered territory, but nominally the State government was in full vigor, and from this contradiction between fact and legal fiction flowed consequences most unfortunate to the political morals of the community. There existed, especially in the western and central counties and in Baltimore, a strong and highly respectable Union sentiment, but, even where they were most numerous, Union men were probably a minority and there is little doubt that, had she been left to herself, the State would have drifted into fellowship with her revolted sisters. But she was not and, in the nature of things, she could not be left to herself. Before an ordinance of secession could be passed or any overt act of rebellion (beyond a mere street riot on April 19, 1861) could be perpetrated, all points of strategic value had been occupied by the national forces, and a strong garrison posted where it should control every important centre.

In name, therefore, Maryland was a loyal State, and, as a matter of fact, she contributed her fair share, both in men and in money, to the war; but none knew better than Mr. Lincoln and his advisers that this outward loyalty expressed by no means the true sentiments of a majority among her people. The administration had to deal with a difficult problem. To have allowed the State real self-government would have put in power at Annapolis the very men then held prisoners at Fort Warren; to have set up a temporary government, as at New Orleans, in place of the regularly constituted authorities would have raised grave constitutional questions, and perhaps offended public sentiment at the North, beside constituting a serious grievance to the loyal minority. To put this minority in possession of the State government, by exerting sufficient pressure (through arbitrary arrests, deportations beyond the lines, presence of military at the polls, and other analogous means), virtually to disfranchise the hostile majority, was a course which had much to recommend it, and, if it be criticised, the critic should, in fairness, be prepared to indicate an acceptable alternative. But its adoption involved a demoralizing experience both for those who were thus given power and for those who were thus excluded from it. The former, aware that they must lose it when the irregular methods by which it had been gained could no longer be employed, and accustomed to justify the use of these to themselves and others by the argument *salus populi suprema lex*, were by no

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means scrupulous as to expedients to perpetuate their control. In the latter a sense of unjust treatment and a longing to retaliate destroyed respect for the law and bred a readiness to adopt, should occasion offer, questionable means to regain their rights. In this state of public feeling the constitutional convention of 1864 was called. It was not a really representative body, and its high-handed action not only in providing for the disfranchisement of sympathizers with the Rebellion, but also in applying in advance these disqualifications to those who should vote upon the acceptance or rejection of the constitution it prepared, can be justified, if at all, only as a war measure in a time of revolution. Even with the disqualifications enforced, it is extremely doubtful whether the constitution was not after all rejected on a fair count of the votes actually cast. No one can justly blame the democratic party for seeking its overthrow; but the means used to attain this purpose can be defended only as Macaulay defends Hastings' compact with Impey. The governor elected while it was in force, a man of despotic temper and restless ambition, became estranged from the bulk of his own party when President Johnson quarrelled with Congress. Finding the path of political preferment closed to him as a republican, he entered into negotiations with certain prominent democrats and, as is generally believed, promised to appoint officers of registration who should practically nullify the disfranchising clause of the constitution in the case of all southern sympathizers who were willing to take the prescribed oath: in return, he was assured of an election to the United States Senate when the party should have regained control of the State.[1]

The Maryland democracy returned to power bound in consistency to condone corrupt bargains in politics and to look with leniency on official perjury and the disregard, by officers of registration and election, of their own plain and sworn duty under the law and of the safeguards for preserving the suffrage to those only legally entitled to exercise it. It is not surprising that from this origin to its renewed ascendency should flow as consequences the gradual usurpation of power within the party by men not over-nice in matters of morality[2]

[1] He did not, however, obtain the promised reward; for, although he was elected according to the bargain, he was informed that the Senate would refuse to seat him, and therefore feared to resign the governorship.

[2] In a speech delivered June 26, 1873, Mr. Latrobe (the present mayor) said: "The men whose hands are too clean for them to do what is called 'the dirty work' of politics should have none of the reward." (Baltimore "American," June 27, 1873.) Mr. Stevenson Archer, the former state treasurer, now in

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or honor, that complaints of fraud and disorder at elections should once more become chronic, or that on at least two occasions (at the general election of 1875 and at the municipal election of 1885) the people's will should have been defeated by the misconduct of the officers appointed to register it. A few words may be given to the latter of these occasions, because its history not only illustrates the peculiar condition of politics in Maryland, but is interesting as a narrative of sagacious, adroit, and resolute political management on the part of the man who thereby secured his position and future when both were gravely threatened.

It must be premised that by the constitution of 1867, in case of a vacancy in the governor's office, the president of the state senate becomes acting governor until the next session of the legislature, when that body selects a governor to serve for the remainder of the term. Hon. Robert M. McLane was governor when Mr. Cleveland assumed office, and it was an open secret that he coveted the succession to Mr. Gorman's seat in the Senate, and generally believed that he had exercised his patronage as governor with a view to securing that prize. The senator's first move was to secure Mr. McLane's nomination as Minister to France—a position which the latter probably accepted with some secret regret. By this measure his most formidable competitor was removed, and at the same time the powers of the governor became vested for his benefit in a comparatively young man, of good family, but entire personal insignificance, and of proved subserviency to his will. To become, however, the recognized candidate of his party for renomination (since Mr. McLane was by no means the only democratic politician desirous of serving his country in the Senate), it was essential that Mr. Gorman should have, or should at least be believed to have, at his disposal the Federal patronage of the State, to serve as current coin in various "deals" and "dickers" which might lead up to the desired result. In point of fact, he did not obtain, and probably was not promised, this control until after the election, and there is much reason to believe that some of the earlier appointments of Mr. Cleveland were thoroughly distasteful to him; but his success in obtaining for one of his most disreputable followers the position of appointment clerk at the Treasury Department, and for another, equally notorious, that of Inspector of Indian Agencies, and in maintaining them in these places notwithstanding a thorough exposure of their

the penitentiary, was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee during most of his term of office. He embezzled about $130,000.

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antecedents and indignant protests from the better element of his party, convinced those with whom he had to treat of his ability to deliver goods as per contract. These scandals, however, added to a latent discontent which had been for more than two years smouldering in the party organization, led to a most formidable revolt; and when Hon. George William Brown, then chief judge of the city supreme bench, a man of stainless reputation and great popularity, consented to become the independent candidate for mayor, and was indorsed as such by the republicans, there seemed every probability that a most damaging blow would be given to the democratic machine by the result of the municipal election, and, as a consequence of the effect on public sentiment thereby produced, that the legislature to be chosen some ten days later might be of such political complexion as gravely to endanger the senator's success. In the city the appointment of judges and clerks of election was by law entrusted to three supervisors of elections, and this board had been composed by Governor McLane of two politicians of questionable affiliations, and of one gentleman of high character, a personal friend of his own. By inducing one of the Board of Police Commissioners to resign, a vacancy was created to which the last-named supervisor was appointed, and in his place the acting governor (who hoped to be elected governor, by the legislature about to be chosen, for the balance of Mr. McLane's term) appointed one of the most thoroughly unscrupulous and justly discredited politicians in the city—at the time of his appointment a candidate for the City Council, and who at first announced his intention of remaining a candidate notwithstanding his selection as supervisor. He was subsequently induced to reconsider this decision, but in his appointments of election officers he displayed not only the most flagrant partisanship, but shameless disregard for the character or reputation of those selected. A committee of the best-known citizens having called upon him to remonstrate against the choice of men utterly illiterate or almost imbecile as minority judges of election, he told them openly that such men were precisely the sort he wanted for such positions; and when they called his attention to the fact that the return judge in one precinct kept a gambling den of the lowest order, and was a man of infamous reputation, the supervisor replied that he considered this no disqualification for the place. In consequence of this language, a formal demand for his immediate removal from office was addressed to the acting governor by a great number of citizens of all shades of political opinion; but the governor, with a touch of cynical humor,

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announced that he would hear charges preferred against the supervisor some days *after* the election—a course, as was remarked by Mr. John K. Cowen in a speech at the time, about as useful as to grant a condemned prisoner a writ of error after he had been hanged. The result of all this audacious and dexterous manipulation was Judge Brown's defeat, not, indeed, by the voters, but by the officers of election, and the choice, by the legislature selected a few days afterwards, of the acting governor for the balance of the term, and of the then senator for another six years.

Many persons believe that to insure a fair and free election, and a truthful return of its results, the improved system of voting known as the "Australian Ballot Law," with perhaps some further amendments to remove recognized defects in its working, will suffice in Maryland as elsewhere. There is no doubt that its adoption has been a step in the right direction; the unconcealed hostility of the "bosses" towards it would suffice of itself to show this.[1] But that this or any other mechanical arrangement will cure the evils which have so long existed in the State, seems to me a complete and mischievous delusion. The Australian ballot is primarily designed to prevent bribery or coercion of voters. It is, in a measure, effective for these purposes, and certainly tends greatly to promote the good order and quiet of elections; but, to work properly, it must be administered by honest and intelligent officers, and it presupposes a comparatively high standard of education among the voters. In Maryland there is a very large illiterate vote, especially among the colored population of the lower counties and the eastern shore; and to prevent the virtual disfranchisement of this class, concessions have had to be made in those provisions of the law intended especially to insure the secrecy of the vote, which greatly mar its efficacy.

The cardinal defect, however, lies in the class of men chosen as election officers. It is almost incredible how frequently all considerations of moral character or public credit are disregarded in filling these highly responsible positions. In 1886 two of the judges of election, a few days before they would otherwise have served as such at the polls, committed a murder, for which they are now serving a long term in the penitentiary; and one of the supervisors of elections

[1] Before the session of the legislature in 1890 Mr. Gorman called a "conference" of democratic editors and instructed them to oppose the Australian system. Most of them promised compliance, but a few were recalcitrant, and one of these made public what had happened.

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for that year, when asked whether they would be removed, replied, in substance, that it depended upon whether they were or were not committed to jail. Had they been released on bail, they would have been thought good enough judges of election for Baltimore. Some thirteen such officers were convicted, during the ensuing year, of the grossest frauds in the discharge of their duties.[1] All of them were pardoned, after serving a few months of the sentences they received, by the governor who has just quitted office, and some twenty others, who were awaiting trial, escaped by a legislative pardon, the General Assemby having repealed the law under which they were convicted, and re-enacted it, with amendments, without providing for the case of pending prosecutions.

It may be added to what has been just said, that complaints as to the fairness of elections have been heard only when the officers of election did not command public confidence. Thus, in 1882, 1883, and 1884, although the elections held in those years in Baltimore were closely contested and preceded in each instance by a strenuous canvass and exciting campaign, and although there was certainly great room for improvement in the registration and election laws then in force, the results of these elections were readily and universally accepted as true expressions of the voters' will, and no charges of partiality or corruption were made against either the supervisors of election or their appointees. The explanation of this fact is simply that the then governor, Hon. William T. Hamilton, recognized the right (although it was not at that time expressly granted by statute) of the minority to representation upon the board of supervisors, and chose as members of that board men of worth and standing in the community. It was made abundantly manifest by the experience of those years that if the board of supervisors *wished* to find trustworthy and competent men to act as judges and clerks of election, they *could* find them, and that if the governor (or the political managers who might dictate his course) *wished* the elections to be fair, and chose supervisors who shared that wish, and were qualified to give it effect, the election *would* be fair.

[1] These prosecutions and a number of others were set on foot, and the convictions, when convictions were secured, obtained through the efforts of the Baltimore Reform League—a body organized after the fraudulent election of 1885, and which has probably done more than any other agency both to improve the election machinery, and to promote a healthful public opinion as to election abuses in the State and city.

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The real source of the evil was pointed out in the language of those members of the constitutional convention of 1851, who found it in "the condition of public opinion, . . . the light esteem in which this crime of fraud upon the ballot-box had heretofore been held," and "the morbid sentiment that prevailed among men of position." It would have been well could "the present and rising generation," in the words of one speaker, "be taught that this was not the light and trivial offence which it had hitherto been deemed, but that it was in fact a great and heinous crime." To protect the suffrage, it is needful that public opinion be so clear and exacting that offences against the ballot-box will not pay in the long run; that "men of position" be willing to subordinate differences of opinion, as to matters concerning which honest men might differ, to the necessity of united action against the perpetrators of "a great and heinous crime;" that members of the dominant party support readily worthy candidates nominated by the party of opposition when this may be the only practical means of rebuking unworthy men who have usurped dominion over their own party, and of branding the unworthy methods by which these men gained and preserved their power.

A great impediment to this consummation in Maryland is found in the condition of the republican party there. Bitter as were the prejudices aroused by the events of the war and the subsequent period of republican ascendency in the State, these prejudices alone would not have prevented the union of the better element of the democratic party with its rival on many occasions during the past twenty years, had the character of the men controlling the latter been such as to promise any improvement in public affairs as a result of its return to power. Unfortunately the republican party has been thoroughly demoralized and discredited by chronic wrangles and interminable intrigues over the distribution of federal patronage. The seat of government is so near, and the offices at the disposal of the national administration are so valuable, that success in a state or city election has become a matter of altogether secondary importance to the politicians of the minority. Their thoughts and energies have been devoted primarily to influencing the action of successive Presidents and cabinets in allotting the places in their gift, and they have come to look upon victory at the polls as a mere means to that end. Moreover, pertinacity and self-assertion have proved so much more valuable qualities than any others to those whose end was simply to get support at the expense of the Federal treasury for themselves and as many of their friends

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and dependents as they could foist upon it, that most of the leaders (if such they can be called) of the republican party in Maryland have been chosen for years past from among those much better able to get up a "delegation," or an "indorsement," or a "banquet," or in some other way to advertise themselves and their own importance than to do valuable and effective work of any kind. The better class of republicans, disgusted by the vulgar self-seeking of these "leaders," profoundly indifferent as to the merits or outcome of their perpetual squabbles over the spoils, and humiliated to belong to a party so led, have ceased for many years to take any part or even interest in the party organization. The conduct of republican primaries and conventions has been habitually marked by the absence of even the small measure of regard for decency displayed in those of the democracy. The recent report of Commissioner Roosevelt upon the participation of federal employees in those held last spring gives an amusing but perfectly fair picture of their usual incidents. Indeed, there is in the republican party contests a *bouffe* element arising from a dim consciousness on the part of most among the actors of the essentially farcical nature of their proceedings. The gentleman who informed the Commissioner that *he* "always cheated honorable," and the witness who said casually that "the election went on as before" when all the judges had been taken to the station-house because they had engaged in a rough and tumble fight among themselves, expressed the view of such primaries taken by everybody who knows anything about them. It is scarcely surprising that reputable democrats, however hostile to the evil practices of their party leaders, should yet hesitate to assist, even indirectly, in committing power to an organization equally corrupt and ridiculous, and should think that after all, if the State must be ruled by a ring, the ring had better be made up of men who at least understood their own calling; that, if we must have a boss, it were better to have one who was sober and sensible, than one who was neither.

In Pennsylvania a worthy governor has been twice elected by the union with the democrats of that element of the republican party which felt bound to protest against the evils of its party management. If the same result is ever attained in Maryland, it will be (unless the future belies past experience) when the republican party has been shaken so thoroughly loose from its hold upon the federal offices that it may learn to be something more than an agency for the brokerage of spoils. Nothing, in fact, could bring into clearer relief the destruc-

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tion of political life by the spoils system of official patronage than the history of this party in the past seven years. It began to be a living party in the State when it lost the offices at Washington. It went back into its old condition of paresis when it regained them. In 1879 a republican President was in the White House, in 1887 a democratic; in 1879 William E. Hooper, the republican candidate for mayor of Baltimore, polled 19,830 votes; in 1887, David L. Bartlett polled 30,345. In 1885, with Cleveland in the Presidency, Judge Brown, an independent democrat, indorsed by the republicans, was defeated by 2,230 majority; in 1891, with Harrison in Cleveland's place, S. Davis Warfield, another independent democrat indorsed by the republicans, was defeated by 8,929. Results of state elections tell the same story. In 1887, when the federal offices had been lost, the majority against the republican candidate for governor was 12,416; in 1891, when they had been regained, the hostile majority went up to 30,142. There are some striking lessons for other communities in the experience of Maryland, but none more striking than those these figures convey.

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THE EDUCATION OF THE FUTURE.

WITH the revival of learning, four hundred years ago, all intelligence was turned to retrospection. Upon the Greek and Roman civilizations every educated eye was fixed, until Europe forgot that there was a future for human society or a law of historic evolution. Scanning the horizon of the time, one could see no light save the classical after-glow faintly reflected from the crumbling marbles of Rome and Greece. In this age of modern science we have turned from the exclusive study of antiquity, and are now gazing into the light of the future, our profoundest curiosity quivering under the currents of new thought as a magnet vibrates in the grasp of an induction-coil. We are rushing on at an ever-accelerating pace into new intellectual conditions, and speculative interest in our tendencies and destiny is almost morbidly active the world over.

Moreover, America is under the further stimulus of its own conditions. It has no remote past, and its vast present is felt to be the mere beginning of a prodigious future. Never before has a single generation seen a great nation spring into being, or a whole continent recovered from barbarism and lifted to our hopeful level of Philistine vulgarity. No wonder that a people who have witnessed and shared in this most enormous and swift of all national phenomena should strain their eyes forward and breathlessly ask, "What next?" Although Malachi ends the titular prophets, there has never been a greater volume of uninspired forecast than at the present moment. No department of life is free from it, least of all education. We live in the future tense. Prediction is the hobby of the age.

Perhaps the weakest point is our forgetting the coming of the unexpected. In the peace following our Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, when society had resumed its small concerns, and the round of life promised a measure of national tranquillity and social quiet, what poet's pen or prophet's lips could have said, "Watt's tea-kettle will revolutionize the world"? Or a few years ago, when our ship of war came through her sea-buffetings and cast anchor in apparent security in the calm harbor of Iquique, who could have imagined

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that an earthquake wave, born thousands of miles away from the deep womb of the Pacific, would roll across the convexity of the world, smother the ship in its foam, and hurl it inland a crushed wreck? Not only does the unexpected happen, but it as often controls, and these are the sort of times the unexpected likes to surprise. Any formula, therefore, for harmonizing modern forecast is dangerous, not so much from the difficulty of estimating or controlling forces now in action before our eyes, as because we are in a mist out of whose obscurity, without warning, the tidal wave may roll in and sweep us from our securest anchorage. Some other tea-kettle than Watt's may blow off its lid and demolish a whole train of institutions.

Education shares the common fate, and has become the subject of rapid change, and hence of absorbing interest as regards its future development and characteristics. The mental experience of a Columbia student is singularly unlike that of a youth who perfumed his locks, arrayed himself in a white tunic, and passed the afternoon in a Greek grove listening to those more or less inspired guesses which made the body of classic philosophy. It is still more unlike the training in arrow-heads and practice at chipmunks which constituted the pre-Dutch schooling on Manhattan Island. What will the Columbia student do at the end of the next century? No one can foretell.

Having followed thus far this general denial of the trustworthiness of definite prediction, the reader is entitled to his smile when he discovers at this point that I am about to offer my ideas as to the tendency of science, and more particularly as to its value, function, and limitation in the education of the near future. My own sense of humor is greatly touched at the inconsistency of the situation, but as Macchiavelli remarks, after reciting the impossibility of making a true history of Florence, "I go gayly into the field."

Education has always followed and reflected the great historic changes of society. From simple utilitarian teaching of savages to the best scientific curriculum of the nineteenth century, education has simply mimicked the last phase of human activity. So we have had a succession of one-sided men trained to one or more accomplishments. Every act of the drama of history has been played with its own appropriate intellectual scene-shifting. Every great setting of the stage of life, from Eden to New York, has been a picture of the thought of the day, and one after another all the changing drop-curtains have been copied by the teachers and made the foundations of education. Prophet of Judea, philosopher of the Athenian Palæstra, priest on the

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margin of the Nile, orator of Rome, monk or soldier of the middle ages, classicist of the Revival, man of science of the present, each in turn has handed to the people of his day a new curriculum for youth to be formed by. Each was but a temporary picture in a series of dissolving views. Each contained an idea valuable and necessary for the production of special activities. Each in its turn was felt to be all-important and all-sufficient. And, one after another, all but the last are passed or passing away.

Roman oratorical education, like every other desirable phase of imperial life, went down with the decline. It was doubtless providential that those early nihilists, the Goths and Vandals, should have beaten the life out of Rome, and ended a system corrupt beyond peradventure of cure. After the moral disintegration and mental decay which accompanied and survived the death of the empire, a thousand years' sleep was the very best thing for Europe, and she slept till the vulgarized motives of Roman character had faded forever out of consciousness, the debauched materialism had perished under centuries of poverty, and the rabble of cheap gods had gone with the other "properties" of that *comédie humaine* into the eternal dust-heap. During the long stretch of the middle ages weary Europe could not keep awake. She lay and dreamed of chivalry and romance, of lance and lute. Neither the tramp of those *dramatis personæ*, the Crusaders, nor the din of the Cid's banging upon Moorish shields made her really open her eyes. Education partook of the waiting and forgetting; literature as the Greeks cultivated it, art as they finished it, and science as they began it, had passed out of mind.

How wholly Roman ideas were effaced, and the intellect of Europe made anew, appears first when French builders developed Gothic art, a novelty so fresh, so original, so free from classical traditions, that it might have come from another world. If Gothic artists were the first to show that Rome had really passed away, it was Dante who foreshadowed the classical revival; but the great Florentine himself and all who succeeded him only indicated how far the world had drifted, how shadowy Rome, how incredible Greece, had become. From the renaissance till thirty years ago, classical literature, polity, art, and language were for all scholarship, to use a phrase of Lucretius, "the womb and urn." Alexandrian mathematics held place by a sort of concession in the early pedagogic mind, influenced rather more by the force of Plato's conclusive defence of their educational value than by any faith in their modern utility.

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Now that classical culture has been forced to yield its empire to science, and its very future existence is put in doubt, it is well to do it deliberate justice and not follow its own arrogant example. We are all familiar with the attitude of lofty condescension with which the classical Levites first saluted modern science, the struggle they made to convince an amused world that the young giant was not only unfit for their serene and elevated company, but utterly without force in education. That the champion, Huxley, should have found it needful to contend so long and so earnestly for the educational value of science seems now almost beyond belief. But because to-day we see the sceptre firmly in the grasp of science there is no reason to forget or affect to forget the splendid service of renaissance training or its indisputable value for the future.

What really were and are the results of classical culture which justify its survival now and hereafter? Since all intellectual life during the Revival was absorbed in contemplation of the past, education offered nothing less ancient than classical letters and Alexandrian mathematics. During four hundred years men have been educated with their backs to the future. But so far as renaissance culture brought generation after generation of youths into the presence, and kept them in the daily company, of the greatest Roman and Greek poets, conquerors, artists, or philosophers, its effect has been, as no one disputes, to develop the very best modern minds. No less an expert in wisdom than Solomon has said, "He that walketh with wise men shall be wise." Classical education at its best has caused its followers to walk in youth with wise men and men of every form of artistic excellence, every phase of literary and philosophic accomplishment. It revealed not only the strongest and boldest brain work of giants, but unveiled all that is most chaste and elegant, most lucid and splendid, in the manner of human expression. From fountains of deepest feeling and springs of sparkling wit it led streams of perennial flow into the territory of the student's mind, and made thereof a garden. It gave a harmonious grace to the intellectual carriage, mellowed the timbre of literary voices, and induced a composed control of mind with an artist's sense of form. Incidentally, necessity for continued application and rigid philological study forced the habit of work, cultivated memory, and bred a respect for precision and accuracy. It therefore afforded discipline. The crowning reward for experiencing this mode of culture is, however, an enlightened state of mind. The brightest jewel in the crown is ideality.

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Now in the age of science, education, like a slow-moving, ponderous weather-vane, has swung around and points straight into the future. Men are being trained with their faces to the coming light, and already they are forgetting to look over their shoulders at the *siccum lumen* of Greece. Let them remember that the very germs of their science came out of that Greece they are learning to forget, that they have only begun where the Greeks left off, and that without Greek literature they would have been forced to go back to the most primitive conceptions of nature and waste centuries in re-travelling the roads which the classic thinkers built and trod for them.

This century has to its credit two intellectual achievements so radically new in kind, so far-reaching in consequences, so closely bound up with the future of the human race, that we stand on the greatest dividing-line since the Christian era. It is as if we had sailed to the end of an ocean and landed on the new world of science. Knowledge of the laws of conservation of energy and biological evolution plants humanity on a world of whose character and extent we cannot even yet form any conception. The centuries we are leaving behind made in nearly every branch of human activity, except science, records of triumph beside which the present has nothing to boast. Experiments in government, social order, and public morals, nearly such as we are struggling with, have been set in operation, tried, condemned, and discarded. The game of democracy has been played longer than we as yet have been able to maintain or endure it. Even such a large national phenomenon as the growth of the United States was almost paralleled by the expansion of the Roman Empire under Trajan. Though history is the account of human repetition, in the face of modern science even Solomon would exclaim, "There *are* new things under the sun."

In all the finer blossoming of human ideality—poetry, drama, architecture, painting, and sculpture—other periods have so far exceeded us that the poor nineteenth century can only stammer and blush. But in knowledge of the scheme of creation and manner of unfolding of the cognizable universe, of the nature of matter, or the broad laws which govern the ebb and flow, the conversion and effects of energy, we rise to a stature that dwarfs forever the men of antiquity. It is not that there were not scientific geniuses from Aristotle to Newton who made great discoveries, as Copernicus did and Galen almost did, but they remained rare and isolated, their careers as lonely as that of a poet. Until now there never was a great army of

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science, all marvellously trained, all unified by the severe and approved tactics of induction, and inspired by the passion of intellectual conquest.

Those strongholds, the mysteries of life and energy, are being won, and all this ground of victory, despite the vague gropings of Democritus and Lucretius and Aristotle and the other philosophers, is absolutely new. It is interesting to note that of the whole mass of Greek and Roman science the most enduring achievements were made in astronomy, where, in all their work other than mere star-gazing or myth-picturing of the heavenly bodies into constellations, something closely approaching the real inductive method was forced by the conditions of the solar system. Not even the world-wide scientific activity of the present is more remarkable than the strictly inductive cast of all research—law and principle, safely and faithfully reasoned and drawn from observation and experiment, patiently multiplied and repeated to the point of proof.

Even more peculiar to this age is the dazzling power of scientific mechanics. No sooner is a phase of energy or of the great law of its universal conservation marked out in the laboratory of the physicist than the genius of some mechanic turns it to practical account. Indeed, sometimes the old order is reversed and the inventor leads the philosopher. They even exchange *rôles*, for the man of workshops has become profoundly scientific, and the man of laboratories is often brilliantly practical. Together they have begun to revolutionize the whole mechanical environment of human life, and they will not pause till all the material appliances of man's industry are lifted out of the clumsy archaic form in which this century found them into a condition of even now undreamed-of efficiency and elegant perfection.

When Macaulay's New Zealander tires of watching the eddying Thames flow past the ruined arch of London Bridge, it may interest him to visit the nearest museum and see those discarded pieces of early mechanism—the nineteenth-century railway locomotive or the telegraph instrument; for no one not a petrified conservative can for a moment doubt that long before London Bridge breaks down all such mechanical appliances will be supplanted by others of greater economy and higher efficiency and of easier control. Were we of to-day thrown back only fifty years, life would seem about as archaic as in the flint period. In this brief span the new age has begun. It is science that has worked the miracle. Where are we in this new day? Are we still at the beginning, or are we nearing that culmination which

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is at once the proudest and saddest hour of all human movements—that summit of a mountain pass to which men climb and toil and strive, only to get one far view into the future, and then go down the other slope into shadows of the end?

Have the steam-engine of yesterday, the telephone of to-day, and the flying-machine of to-morrow so exhausted mechanical imagination that we are dulled to the myriad possibilities surrounding us? Has the strain of sixty years of invention so fatigued the modern mechanic that he is losing his elastic freshness of mind and is in danger of relaxing his grasp? Are his nerve-centres going to stand the constant draught of vital energy? And the man of pure science—what are his relations to the movement? Is he halting or hesitating under the stress of his tremendous struggle with the unknown? Must we give up weary and baffled before we know the nature of ether, the architecture of molecules, the mechanism of gravitation, and shall we fail to surprise the well-guarded secret of the physics of life?

The human organism has rarely been subjected to a severer test than the study of scientific problems, nor is there a truer hero than an investigator who never loses heart in a life-long grapple with the powers of the universe. It requires courage of the highest order to stand for years face to face with one of the enigmas of nature; to interrogate patiently, and hear no answer; to try all known methods and weapons of attack, and yet see the lips of the sphinx compressed in stony immobility; to invoke the uttermost powers of imagination; to fuse the very soul in the fire of effort, and still press the listening ear against a wall of silence. It is easier to die in the breach. Nothing can be surer than that, struggling in the assaults of pure science or its practical application, man will finally grow weary. The eye will fail, imagination fold its wings, and the age of modern science perish as the day of classical art or that of Elizabethan letters sank into twilight and darkness. But when?

Careful survey of this great movement shows as yet no indications of faltering. Powers of observation and apprehension of facts are keen as ever, and, not content with the human mechanism already evolved, the sensorium has been marvellously extended by the invention of instruments of almost superhuman ingenuity; inductive reasoning was never so far-reaching; and, lastly, imagination, which offers the best critical test of intellectual health, is fresh and soaring. There is not a single pathologic symptom in the body of science. The march has just begun. It is the greatest movement in history!

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Thus far, of the two great discoveries of the age, conservation of energy and biological evolution, the first only has been made practical in human affairs. We are mastering the industrial use of energy as fast as we comprehend its nature. Toil is to be purged of its grime and its iron hardship; the mechanic and domestic arts will be made refined and delicate. Transit of persons and commodities and ideas must be far more swift, safe, and economical than now. We shall whisper around the globe. An instrument will be devised which will give at once a legible and audible record of the pulsations of human speech, and thus end that tedious and retarding conventionality, the alphabet. Energy will be made cheap. Flight through the upper air will be a daily matter of course. We shall contrive numberless other things that have not yet entered into the heart of man, all growing out of the conservation of energy. Meantime the other great secret of nature we have discovered, biological evolution, slowly unfolds its absorbing picture of the laws and phenomena of life. Yet, strange to say, we have done almost nothing to make its astonishing revelations conduce to the physical and moral welfare of the human race. A trifle in medicine or, rather, surgery, and a beginning in the breeding of domestic animals are all we have done.

If the future of man's mechanical industry lies under the shadow of the laws of energy, the future of his whole bodily nature, its health, beauty, and organic purity, its strength of muscle, nerve, and brain, depends upon intelligent obedience to the new table of biological commandments. In his ignorance of human biology, man has done little or nothing to protect society from the fatal percentage of disease, crime, and incompetence. Like a patient beast of burden, humanity has staggered since Eden under a load of ills nearly all of which might have been prevented by a rigorous application of scientific biological restraints. We have been quick to adopt railways, but we cannot realize heredity; we have eagerly put our ear to the telephone, and been wilfully deaf to the voice of science which is offering to tell us how to make our own children strong and fair. Whenever a quickened sense of moral responsibility brings us to resolve to improve the human body, biology will furnish all the details for intelligent procedure. We accept the army of incompetence, of insanity and disease, as a burden from Providence, and think ourselves very virtuous for liberally wasting the pound of cure when the ounce of prevention is utterly neglected. This is the age of energy; next will be the age of biology.

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Science meantime continues to work on these two great subjects. By the study of energy, man, even if he cannot literally, as Emerson urges, "hitch his wagon to a star," may harness it to the great universal power that moves all the stars. By biology, whenever the popular eye has been anointed with the scientific clay, he may banish half the ills that flesh is heir to. So enormous is the accumulating mass of scientific knowledge, and so stupendous its utility, that there is room for no surprise that education yields like wax under pressure of this most uncompromising and powerful of modern influences. Aside from the higher attractions of pure science, rewards of wealth are tempting students to leave the charmed pathway to classical culture and take the road to the knowledge and control of matter and energy. Because science helps a man to devise an electric motor or a steel ship, to gain a fortune, to partake of the splendid material luxury and be a part of the greatest intellectual movement of the age, is reason enough for its rapidly achieved ascendency in education. It is conquering and to conquer. Classical culture is already outstripped and must lag farther and farther behind. We have had four hundred years of education with the face to the past, and thirty years with the face to the future; the two types of product are before us, and considerable benefit may be obtained from a fearless comparison of the two kinds of mind and character which these contrasted modes of education are developing.

Renaissance culture, when well carried out, gives discipline and method, induces ideality, and crystallizes the finest examples of human action, thought, and expression. But it leaves the whole physical universe to the poet's dreams, and to-day works the awful disadvantage of detaching men from their own age and chaining them to the life of two millenniums ago. It cannot be denied that the man of exclusively classical education has already become a half-quaint, half-pathetic figure, as out of time as Don Quixote. Nothing is more curious than his bewilderment in face of the great mechanism of modern life, and his air of perturbed helplessness among the men who are giving to this century its resistless industrial tendency and handling its material resources with such commanding power. His radical difference from the scientific-mechanical man consists in the fact that a half of his brain has never been stimulated into consciousness and cultivated into activity. Not to know how nature and man manage the conversions of energy, not to see the early light of science beginning to penetrate and illumine the very depths of space, to get

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no nearer than Job got to the binding together of the sun and worlds, to linger in archaic darkness as to the building of the earth, to stop where Aristotle stopped in conception of the process of evolution, is to be a man with half his brain unborn. He beholds the strenuous procession of modern progress urging on; he sees it always passing, always leaving him. He does not know how to grasp a locomotive by the throat and strangle it into submission, or fight a caisson through rebellious quicksands down to solid bearings. A wire with the electrical current is a mystery and a terror. With all this, Greek tragedy is of no avail; Plautine scansion cannot help him; the whole Greek anthology is impotent to aid. The classic is only a half-man.

What of the other education? From the unanswerable claims of its large utility and the mere surplus of its inherent energy, science will do with education whatever it sees fit. Just now its results may be summed up as, first of all, a discipline of mind as much more thorough and accurate than classical training as the laws of nature are more invariable than human language and thought. The supreme dominion of natural laws, unlimited by time or space, the complete sway of these laws, when measured by the infinite or the infinitesimal, are all-powerful to subordinate the young brain to the great order of things. Secondly, scientific and technical education imparts a potential energy for the field of practical industry. Its men are free from all narrowness; science is too vast and universal for that. In its highest product, the investigator, this sort of education has produced a type as great and as supreme in its field as the Greek artist. Lastly, it is right to add that in this country scientific education is strangely better done than the classics.

With all its novel modern powers and practical sense, I am forced to admit that the purely scientific brain is miserably mechanical; it seems to have become a splendid sort of self-directed machine, an incredible automaton, grinding on with its analyses or constructions. But for pure sentiment, for all that spontaneous, joyous Greek waywardness of fancy, for the temperature of passion and the subtler thrill of ideality, you might as well look to a wrought-iron derrick. Science found education blundering peacefully along, cultivating half of the mind with charming results and letting the other die of disuse; it worked the startling miracle of electrifying this dead half into life and bringing it to perfect activity; and straightway, satisfied with this remarkable achievement, it proceeded to neglect the ideal half which the classics had made so much of, drove it into disuse, and caused it

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to perish. It has substituted a new sort of half-man for the old one. What would be thought of a world-wide school of athletics which should bind up the right leg till it withered and became forever impotent, and make its graduates hop through life on the left? And what student of education could believe it possible that a new great culture would arise which should gravely bind up the left leg and make its men hop on the right? Yet that is what two systems of education are now doing.

To choose between the old classical and the new technical trainings is simply to decide which side of a man's mind shall be developed and which carefully destroyed. Utility casts the preponderating vote, and in consequence scientific and technical education is expanding out of all proportion to the spread of the classics, and for a long time will assert its overwhelming ascendency, until a race of men shall come upon the stage with about as much religion as a threshing-machine and hardly more social charm than a storage battery. The best present way of avoiding the contrasted evils of this great educational dilemma is to undergo successively both modes of training. But this is a very costly and time-consuming programme, which results in the severe disadvantage of deferring real life till far too late. That triumph of helplessness, that patternless "crazy quilt" of unrelated snippings of knowledge, a curriculum of "optionals," is a mockery, not a solution.

Is it not time for a radical departure? Instead of making one-sided people, instead of merely using a pedagogue's mirror of the past or present, have we not reached the day for starting with the human brain and mind and formulating all we know of their structure and functions, including the natural sequence by which these structures and activities succeed one another in the normal life-history of the individual from birth to death? Is it not possible to chart the course of growth of the healthy all-round mind and devise a whole scheme of education which shall work with consummate ease in harmony with the natural sequences of human nature, instead of crassly violating them at every step, as we do at present?

Most students of humanity would agree that the goal of education should be to produce a man the whole round of whose faculties had been exercised into harmonious life, taking each at the right psychological moment, which is the age when its early strength is sufficient for activity, cultivating all, neglecting none, preserving the balance of all, till at about eighteen, when a certain special direction should

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be given to fit the student not a day later than twenty-one for the pursuit of his special career. When the world really wants such education, it can have it.

Already we know something of the laws of human evolution as regards the embryo, the individual, and the species. I do not mean the solemn shibboleth of the philosophers, who love to dandle the universe in a patronizing way and pigeon-hole even Omnipotence. I mean no such darkening of counsel. To the original investigators in biology, not the philosophers at second hand, we must look for intelligible particulars.

It is a general law, covering the span of human growth from the initiation of life to the age of adult culmination, that development is an orderly epitome of the whole biological past, structure and faculty appearing and growing in the individual in the same order they have followed since the beginning of life upon the globe. Man sums up and reiterates the whole terrestrial past. Between the biologists and the psychologists on the one hand, and the paleontologists and scientific historians on the other, the data exist for charting the order of the appearance and growth of the functions of the human mind. Were such a chart put into their hands, even the pedagogues, the last to see anything, would see how ruinously unnatural, how straining and stunting, their procedure is.

By way of illustrating our wretched inverting of the natural processes of youthful development, I may cite the study of language. Human speech, although appearing late in the line of biological history, is of hoary antiquity as compared with written language, and still more ancient than the use of written language as a mode of education. Speech is a method of producing certain vibrations of the atmosphere, or sound-waves, whose direct appeal to the brain of man is through sympathetic vibrations within the ear, and a transmission by a system of afferent nerves of the detail of such waves inward to those parts of the brain which are the seat of apprehension of such phenomena. Therefore language has, primarily, nothing to do with any other sense than hearing. Reflect that animal sensitiveness to sound-waves preceded by vast geological periods the appearance of man on earth, and that the road from animal brain to animal brain by sound-waves had become the one familiar method of nature. Man, when he came upon the scene, found himself with ears well developed, and when he finally gibbered into articulate speech, the nervous pathway from ear to brain was all ready for his use. It was only when

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advancing development made desirable the permanent recording of speech that written language was gradually and haltingly produced. Nature had perfected a universal aerophone over which the transmission and apprehension of sound were of consummate perfection. Man, ages and ages later, made the written sign-picture or letter, which reaches the brain only through the eye. Now, the brainwork required to receive through the eye the purely artificial conventionality of letters and convert them into the sound-conception for which language stands, is enormously greater and more complex than the auricular process which the geological ages have reduced to the last expression of ease.

The ear method of language inter-communication, first in order of historic origin, is infinitely easier to acquire than the eye method; yet in a vast majority of cases language-study is transferred from the first decade of life—stage of development and freshness of ear then combining to make it easy—to the second decade, stage of development and the book method then combining to make it excessively difficult. And this singular inversion of natural order and method involves a second inversion, which is the utterly anachronistic use of grammar. The grammar of a language is a rather interesting thing to read over when you already know the language. A few months of English grammar as we learn it several years after we are entirely familiar with English speech is a very easy episode of the younger school days; but classical grammar, how it has stunted generations and prevented them from learning any classics!

The people to teach languages are not university faculties, but home instructors, who, if they were required, would make children talk in Greek and Latin as fluently at ten as they now speak French and German. It is already common enough in America to find children of eight who, without a suspicion of task, have learned French and German in the nursery. If the reader will chat in either of these tongues with a child so taught, and then attempt to hold similar intercourse with a recent university graduate who attacked his foreign languages as "optionals" at the age of twenty by the eye, he will promptly see that out of the mouths of babes and sucklings will come something facile, idiomatic, and free, while the collegian falters and wounds the patient atmosphere with the melancholy wreckage of his parts of speech. What is true of modern tongues is equally true of Greek, which some dolts still call a dead language. In two generations it would be possible to have every well-educated child speak

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French, German, and Greek or Latin by the age of ten, and that without weariness. Plenty of Russian children do quite as much now. If the desired languages were really learned by ten, or before they are now ordinarily begun, consider the freedom and time that higher schools and universities would have in the following decade to teach the structure and genius of language and the real riches of literature, which now they cannot dream of doing. The putting youths of fifteen to work at learning a language is like putting them to bite on a rubber ring.

Science shares the same fate, and much of its education is utterly out of time. As the ear is most sensitive to sound in childhood, so in early years the eye is more freshly alive to color, which is the basis of vision. In the first decade scientific observation should be taught with all its highest subtlety, all its richest intricacy. By twelve every child should possess a trained sensorium and be an accurate scientific observer. College faculties are abundantly familiar with the sort of youth who comes to enter the vestibule of science with a sensorium grown hopelessly dull and insensitive for the want of early use. It would be easy to multiply instances of the educational violation of nature. Our teaching of mathematics is a capital one. Mental economics are all on the side of following nature, and I believe it is no exaggeration to say that, in an education recast to harmonize with the real character of the human mind, fully half of the university work could be done in the first decade far better than the college faculties ever have done or ever will do it. The time will come when a university will no more have a teacher of French than it will have a class in teething.

Whence must education derive the exact knowledge which is to form the organic basis for the new round training of man? Out of the pedagogic past or present? Never! It will come out of biology and psychology. It will be the magnificent gift of science.

CLARENCE KING.

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WOULD FREE COINAGE BRING EUROPEAN SILVER HERE?

It is not my intention at this time to enter upon a general discussion of the silver question, but to confine myself to the one phase of the subject embodied in my query. Preliminary, however, to an intelligent answer to the query, it is necessary to make clear exactly what is meant by free silver coinage here, and briefly to consider the changes which have taken place in respect to silver since the United States adopted the gold standard in 1873. Free silver coinage may be defined as the right of any one to deposit silver at any mint of the United States and have every 371¼ grains of pure silver (now worth about 70 cents) stamped, free of charge, into a dollar, which shall be a full legal tender at its face value in the payment of debts and obligations of all kinds in the United States.

Under free coinage *proper* the conversion of silver into dollars would be limited to the capacity of our mints, say from three to four million pieces a month. In order, however, to hasten the "benefits" of free coinage, all the measures advocated by the silver men provide for the *instantaneous* conversion of silver bullion into legal dollars by purchase by the government at our coining rate. Free silver coinage as proposed, therefore, means this: that the United States shall pay $1.2929 an ounce (now worth 90 cents an ounce) for all the silver which may be brought to our mints, in legal-tender money, interconvertible under existing law with gold at par.

The important changes which have taken place in respect to silver since 1873 may be enumerated as follows: 1. Silver has depreciated in value, as measured by gold, over 30 per cent—from $1.33 an ounce in 1873 to 90 cents in 1892. 2. European nations have for fourteen years discontinued the coinage of full legal-tender silver money. 3. The exchanges of the world are to-day settled everywhere in gold, or, if in silver, at its gold value. 4. The product of silver has considerably more than doubled—63,000,000 ounces in 1873 against 140,000,000 ounces in 1891.

Such being the proposed legislation and such the existing condi-

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tions, the question recurs, What would be the results of such legislation? One result—and the one which at the present time carries the most deterrent force with it—is that we should be flooded with the world's silver. That the annual product of domestic as well as foreign silver would find its way to our open mints under free coinage here, so long as we could maintain the price in gold, is very generally conceded.

How about foreign silver coins? According to a table which I have just presented to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the House of Representatives, a table compiled from the latest official and other reliable data, the stock of silver in the principal countries of the world, exclusive of the United States, approximates $3,397,000,000, of which $2,930,000,000 are full legal-tender coin and $467,000,000 subsidiary or limited-tender coin. The actual commercial value of the silver contained in these coins is from 30 to 40 per cent less than the face value, and, except in countries where the silver coins are interconvertible with gold coins, the actual purchasing value of these coins as compared with gold has depreciated to the same extent.

The stock of full legal-tender silver coins (not taking into account any subsidiary or divisional coins) in the principal countries of Europe approximates $1,100,000,000, of which some $430,000,000 are stored in the vaults of five banking-houses. It is believed that if the United States should pass an act for the free coinage of silver, this stock of silver would very largely be deposited at our mints for payment in legal-tender money interconvertible with gold. On the other hand, it is urged that this would not take place for two reasons: first, because the silver coins of Europe are now in use for monetary purposes at their nominal value; and secondly, because such an exchange would entail a loss of between three and four per cent upon the owners of such coin, equivalent to the difference between our coining rate and the European coining rate of silver, together with cost of shipment and insurance.

An advocate of free coinage at the recent convention of bankers held at New Orleans, said:

"As to Europe's great banks, they are chartered institutions, and may not coin money. One of their functions is to earn it; no one of them is to lose money intentionally. Their silver reserves and their gold reserves are exactly alike—full legal-tender in fulfilment of contracts, payment of debts including their deposits, and for redemption of their circulating notes. For these banks to employ our reopened mints as the medium of exchanging their legal-tender silver for its

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exact equivalent, to them, in gold, would occasion them a loss exceeding $13,000,000, besides the cost of freight, insurance, interest, and light weight of coin in the transfer of bullion to and from our mints."[1]

A moment's reflection will show the fallacy of this reasoning, based as it is on the assumption that the passage of a free-coinage law by the United States, and the actual free coinage of silver here, would effect the rehabilitation of silver.

In the first place, it may be truthfully said that there is not a statesman or financier in Europe—not even the most ardent champion of bi-metallism—who believes that the adoption of the policy of free coinage of silver by the United States would permanently raise the price of that metal and keep it at $1.2929 per fine ounce in gold. On the contrary, the very general belief in Europe is that it would have that effect only for a very short time, beginning with the passage of the free-coinage measure, after which the price of silver, unless other commercial nations followed the example of the United States and opened their mints to the free coinage of silver (a thing in the highest degree improbable), would steadily decline.

On this subject Mr. G. M. Boissevain, who wrote the splendid essay on bi-metallism which obtained the prize offered by Sir H. M. Meysey-Thompson, Bart., at the Paris Monetary Conference of 1889, says:

"Lastly, in the third place, I reply—and this especially is of very great importance—that nothing but international bi-metallism can assure the stability of the ratio of value between the two metals, nor re-establish the unity of the money standard in the commercial world. Indeed, from this point of view, *i.e.*, having regard to the unity of the monetary standard, I consider that if the United States should really adopt the silver standard it would be a new cause of embarrassment for Europe, and that its trade would sensibly suffer."

The same distinguished champion of international bi-metallism says in the same connection:

"And secondly, another thing must be kept in view, namely, that only the triumph of bi-metallism can put a definite end to the possibility of fresh demonetizations of silver in Europe. The countries which are at present under the *régime* of the *étalon boiteux*[2] will not be able in the long run to abstain from such demonetizations unless the two metals really again take rank in the monetary circulation on a footing of perfect equality. Whatever be the ratio of value between the two metals which results in the end from the monetary policy of the United States, so long as the commercial world is divided into two parts, coun-

[1] "The Bankers' Magazine," April, 1891, p. 794.

[2] That is to say, countries which, though using both gold and silver as unlimited legal-tender money at a fixed ratio, have been obliged to restrict the mintage of silver, *e.g.*, France.

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tries with a gold standard and countries with a silver one, the maintenance of a large proportion of silver coin in countries where free coinage is only granted to gold would always be in theory a heresy and in practice a real danger."

Mr. Henri Cernuschi, the eminent and chivalric champion of silver, in answer to the direct question what the effect of free silver coinage here would be, says:

"In my opinion, no country *can coin silver alone;* and a country that coins only silver will remain alone and will not have the money to pay abroad." [1]

And so we could quote from Allard, the lamented Laveleye, and from all the other eminent economists of Europe who have given their attention to monetary questions.

In the second place, it is a well-known fact that European countries are strongly tending toward the gold standard. Practically, to-day, all Europe is on the gold standard. They are seeking gold with an avidity and holding on to it with a tenacity which is undisguised. A practical illustration of this is presented in the very startling fact that although we shipped them in the six months ending January 1, 1892, over $155,000,000 in products in excess of what we bought from them, we received in payment less than $30,000,000 in gold, Europeans preferring to part with valuable American securities rather than diminish their stock of gold.

There is a certain form of bi-metallism which theoretically exists in France and its monetary allies, but as a matter of fact the silver coins of the Latin Union have been kept in domestic circulation alongside of gold only by absolute discontinuance of silver coinage, and they cut no figure in international exchanges. Gold mono-metallism is the goal to which European countries are tending. The aim of all Europe is to have a monetary system in which silver shall serve only as divisional coin. This tendency toward the gold standard has not been entirely from choice, but largely from necessity, growing out of the fact that by natural selection gold has become the measure of value in the commercial world.

All international exchanges, whether with gold-standard countries or with silver-standard countries, are to-day settled by comparison with the English pound sterling. While in some countries the gold standard may have been displaced in domestic transactions, all foreign commerce, and the values of all articles produced in this or other countries, are measured by comparison with the English pound

[1] Report of the U. S. Monetary Commission of 1876, p. 478.

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sterling, regardless of laws and of open mints. By the universal consent of mankind, this has become an established fact. All national loans are effected in gold. It is next to impossible to place one payable in silver. It is this fact which compels European countries to conform their monetary systems to that of the country whose monetary unit measures the value of all international exchanges. Hence, European governments determined to adopt the single gold standard, and, since the tendency of all is in that direction, they must at some time dispose of their full legal-tender silver, or the bulk of it, at any price. This would be the simplest and most natural way to obtain the gold they need, and what time could be more opportune for that change than when the price of silver has been temporarily brought back to within three per cent of what it was before the depreciation of the white metal began? To governments desiring to reform their monetary systems and put them on the gold basis, the question of a slight pecuniary loss in converting their silver into gold would be a matter of no moment. It would be a question of public policy, of the general welfare, of a safe and honest currency; and they well know that to obtain such a currency they would have to make some sacrifice. They know also that the longer the delay in securing such a currency the greater the sacrifice they will eventually have to make to obtain it. The history of monetary reform in Germany proves this conclusively. When that government resolved to carry out the monetary reform of 1871–73, and adopt the gold standard, the price of silver had not yet begun to decline. After the government began in 1873 to sell the silver obtained from the demonetization of its immense stock of silver coins, the price began to fall, to a great extent in consequence of these very sales. Yet the losses consequent on this decline did not deter that country from completing the reform which it had undertaken. The sales by Germany of silver from old coins melted down, amounted,—

In 1873 to	105,923	pounds,	Troy	fine, at	59	pence.
" 1874 "	703,685	"	"	"	58¾	"
" 1875 "	214,898	"	"	"	57¼	"
" 1876 "	1,211,759	"	"	"	52	"
" 1877 "	2,868,095	"	"	"	54	"
" 1878 "	1,622,696	"	"	"	52	"
" 1879 "	377,744	"	"	"	50	"

In December, 1879, the face value of the coins demonetized was 1,079,734,456 marks ($257,000,000), and to December, 1888, 1,081,742,800 marks ($257,454,000). The total amount of silver sold by

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Germany was 89,695,728 fine ounces, at a loss of 96,481,000 marks ($23,000,000), of which 71,373,600 marks was the result of depreciation in value, and the remainder of abrasion and under-fineness of the melted coins. The price fell while these sales were being effected, ninepence per fine ounce, or about 16 per cent. Here we find a great European power, not from necessity but from choice, in the effort to adopt a gold standard, willing to stand a loss of nearly ten per cent on its enormous stock of silver coins, all of which was in circulation as money; and yet we are told that European countries after the experience of the past eighteen years, with mints closed to silver coinage, would not stand a loss of three per cent to accomplish the same result. But in this connection it must be remembered that Germany has not entirely completed the monetary reform of 1871–73. There are still outstanding in the states of that empire some one hundred million dollars in silver thalers, which Germany would be only too glad, we may assume, to sell, in order to perfect her monetary system. It is only a question of time when Germany will sell her thalers, as the sales were suspended only because the price of silver had depreciated so largely.

Roumania, a comparatively poor and obscure country of Europe, not long since decided to adopt the gold standard, and actually melted down and sold 25,000,000 lei (francs), about $5,000,000, of full legal-tender silver coins, at the price of about $1.06 a fine ounce, against $1.33 a fine ounce, their value as money; and it is a well-known fact that the same country has about 22,000,000 francs of the same kind of coins which she is anxious to dispose of, and is only awaiting a favorable market. Here is a European country, one of no great commercial power, with no very embarrassing stock of silver coin, willing to suffer a loss of 25 per cent in order to secure a sound currency.

In the third place, while it is true that the silver coins of Europe are in use for monetary purposes, it must be borne in mind that a very large portion of the five-franc silver pieces of the debtor states of the Latin Union are held by the Bank of France, and that under the terms of the Latin Union the debtor countries can be called upon to redeem these coins in gold at the end of any year. So far as Belgium and Italy are concerned, the redemption of their five-franc silver coins in gold, if demanded, would lead to serious difficulty. They could not be put in circulation in these countries, and would necessarily be sold for such price as they would bring in gold, in order to assist in their redemption. The temporary raising of the price of silver to

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$1.29 a fine ounce by the passage of a free-coinage act by this government, would be a golden opportunity for these debtor nations to get rid of these embarrassing stocks of silver coins held by the Bank of France.

Of the 364,000,000 francs ($72,000,000) in five-lire pieces issued by Italy, nearly all have left the country, and of these about 300,000,000 francs are held in France, of which at least 130,000,000 are in the vaults of the Bank of France, against the small sum of about 4,000,000 francs of five-franc silver coins of the other states held in Italy. In addition, the Italian government has some 44,000,000 francs of old Bourbon piastres which are looking for a market. France holds from 300,000,000 to 320,000,000 francs of Belgian five-franc pieces, 200,000,000 of which are in the vaults of the Bank of France, and the Belgian press has been urging for some time that it would be wise public policy for Belgium to dispose of these coins for what they would bring in gold, and establish the gold standard. These facts are stubborn things, and not easily disposed of by any amount of sentiment or argument.

In the fourth place, it is important to bear in mind that some of the principal nations of Europe, while legally they have the silver standard or the double standard, as a matter of fact are on a paper basis. Such is the case with Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, three of the great powers of Europe. Each of these countries, notably Italy and Austria-Hungary, are moving in the direction of the resumption of specie payments. The amount of paper money outstanding in these countries at the present time is as follows:

Italy	1,372,000,000 francs	($265,000,000)
Austria-Hungary	804,000,000 florins	($387,000,000)
Russia	1,096,000,000 roubles	($846,000,000)

Against these enormous issues of paper money, the respective governments hold in their treasuries and banks the following metallic stocks:

Italy	Gold,	473,000,000 francs	($91,000,000)
	Silver,	163,000,000 "	(31,000,000)
Austria-Hungary	Gold,	80,000,000 florins	($38,000,000)
	Silver,	166,000,000 "	(80,000,000)
Russia	Gold,	271,000,000 roubles	($209,000,000)
	Silver,	3,000,000 "	(2,000,000)

The Italian Chamber passed a law on the 7th of April, 1881, authorizing a loan for the redemption of the forced currency of the country, of which 444,000,000 francs was to be in gold. Actually, the

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treasury received 398,000,000 francs in gold and 38,000,000 in five-franc silver pieces. The decree announcing the resumption of specie payments was issued March 1, 1883, and the exchange of coin for notes began on April 12th following. The amount of paper actually redeemed has been 543,000,000 francs.

Frequent conferences have been held recently between the premiers of Austria and Hungary in regard to the resumption of specie payments in that empire upon a gold standard, and the intention to sell 60,000,000 florins of the stock of 166,000,000 silver florins held by the Bank of Austria has been publicly stated. In a communication but recently received from Mr. F. D. Grant, the American Minister at Vienna, he says:

"Last summer, probably on account of the prospective legislation in the United States which would affect silver, the relative value of the two precious metals came so near together that the two governments forming this monarchy agreed to nominate legislative committees to meet and discuss the subject of a currency basis, and, if possible, to arrange a coinage which would be satisfactory to those engaged in these two before-mentioned classes of industry. As an outcome of these discussions, the two governments agreed, last week, to *make gold their standard in the future.*"

In pursuance of the policy outlined by Minister Grant, the Austrian and Hungarian ministers of finance have for months past been engaged in amassing gold for resumption purposes, and their accumulations already are believed to exceed $60,000,000. In addition it is proposed to melt down the Austrian Verein Thalers, silver coins, now in circulation in Germany, amounting to from 75,000,000 to 93,000,000 marks, that is, from $18,000,000 to $23,000,000.

Here then, as a practical refutation of the argument that European countries would not dispose of their stocks of silver coin under free coinage in the United States, because of the small loss of about three per cent, are two countries, Germany and Roumania, which have actually done this very thing, the one at a loss of ten per cent and the other at a loss of twenty-five per cent; and another great empire, Austria-Hungary, is making preparations for melting down its silver coins at a loss of nearly forty per cent.

While Russia has nominally the silver standard, as a matter of fact, silver coins do not circulate in the empire, and are discredited by her own customs' laws, being received only as a limited tender. Russia has an irredeemable paper currency, the depreciation of which is measured by gold. All her external loans are effected in gold and are payable, principal and interest, in gold.

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If the European countries which now have a paper currency are to resume specie payments, it is evident they must resume in gold, because gold is practically the standard of Europe, and resumption in silver would be no resumption at all. The resumption of specie payments by any of these countries would only be practicable in the two ways heretofore adopted; that is, by the placing of gold loans in the shape of interest-bearing bonds, or by selling their stock of silver coins for gold. It seems reasonable to suppose that the latter method would be resorted to, as far as practicable, especially if this country should furnish a convenient opportunity to supply the gold necessary for resumption purposes in the purchase of their silver coins at the rate of $1.2929 a fine ounce. That the slight loss of three per cent would be any serious consideration in the carrying out of these monetary reforms, I do not for a moment believe; it is disproved by the action of European countries which have in recent years adopted the gold standard.

In the fifth place, a very erroneous idea prevails as to the actual loss which would result from the melting down and sale of foreign silver under free coinage in this country. Silver coins in Europe are maintained in domestic circulation at par with gold, by limitation of their coinage, by the credit of the government, as well as by the interchangeability of the one coin with the other; as a matter of fact, they possess no actual value to the government which issued them over and above the value of the pure silver contained in them. The difference between this value and their face value is simply a credit value, as it is in the silver dollar of the United States. The stock of silver coins in France and the states of the Latin Union is in excess of the requirements of domestic trade. The coins are not kindly received by the people, are rejected in foreign commerce, and, as a result, pile up in the vaults of the banks. As a matter of fact, they are used by the banks of Europe largely as a basis for the issue of paper money; and as the amount of paper money which the banks could issue upon the gold value of their silver coins at our coining rate would be very much greater than the value of the paper money which they could safely issue upon these silver coins now, instead of their sale involving a loss, it would be an absolute gain to the banks.

Mr. S. Dana Horton presents this matter very forcibly when he says:

"Taking the case of the Bank of France, this supposition implies that she would receive one hundred and ninety million dollars of gold instead of one hun-

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dred and ninety million dollars' worth of silver, coined at a face value of two hundred and fifty millions. This coin is in use as a deposit for bank-notes. How large an issue could be based on gold, which is the chief or standard metal, the only international money of the western hemisphere? Evidently, if the government so wished, the convenience or advantage of maintaining the existing figures of monetary stock could be attained with gold as well as silver, and thus indemnity for any apparent loss be easily given to the bank. The actual value of the gold would serve as security for not less an amount than the nominal value of the silver. Where, then, is the loss? It does not exist." [1]

If the effort of the United States is to increase the use of silver for money purposes, not here alone, but everywhere, that effort would be defeated by a free-coinage law here, because, while it would undoubtedly increase the use of silver in this country, it would reduce it elsewhere. It would do more than that, for, by enabling foreign governments to melt down their silver coins and sell them for our gold at our coining rate, it would destroy the interest of such countries in the restoration of silver as a money metal. While it would temporarily raise the price of silver, the ultimate effect would be to raise the price of gold the world over, by enabling countries now having the double standard, or the silver standard, to adopt the gold standard, thus creating an increased demand for gold and causing it to appreciate in value, aggravating, in fact, the very evil complained of—the dearness of gold. At the same time it would necessarily lower the price of silver because it would enable Europe (not to speak of South America and other countries) to throw vast quantities of it on the American market.

If our mints should be opened to the free coinage of silver, under existing conditions, the stocks of silver would move to this country solely because they could be converted, at the highest market price, into our legal-tender money, which could in turn be converted into gold at par; but the moment our currency reached a silver basis, when our legal-tender paper money could only be exchanged for silver dollars, the profit to the foreign silver owner for the interchange of his silver for our gold would cease, and silver would be imported then only as an exchange matter, just as gold is now.

If we should exchange our stock of gold for a stock of silver, which would most surely and swiftly take place were it not rendered impossible by the withdrawal of gold from the treasury and from circulation, what would be our gain? Under free silver coinage here, one of two things will most certainly occur: either our gold will go to a

[1] "Silver in Europe," by S. Dana Horton, p. 230.

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premium and be withdrawn from circulation, or it will go abroad to pay for the silver which will be shipped here for sale. In either event we shall reach a silver basis.

As an earnest worker for the restoration of silver to its former rank and use as a money metal of full debt-paying power, believing that such restoration is fraught with incalculable benefits to mankind, and not yet without hope that the embarrassments arising from the attempt to use one metal alone as the measure of all values and the medium of exchanges may become so intolerable that commercial nations will find it for their advantage to join the United States in the restoration of silver, I should deplore the enactment by Congress of free silver coinage, which, as I have shown, is a measure not favored by any bi-metallist of repute and will only add to our financial embarrassments and relieve Europe of its embarrassments.

EDWARD OWEN LEECH.

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FREE COINAGE AND AN ELASTIC CURRENCY.

In discussing the question of "The Restoration of Silver" in the Forum for November, 1886, I used the following language (page 249):

"But the true solution of the gold and silver question is to give free and unlimited coinage to both at our mints, and to issue coin-notes on the deposit of gold and silver coin or bullion, these notes to be redeemed on demand in standard gold or silver coin, at the option of the government. These notes would go into general circulation, would do away with all distinction between gold and silver, and would stand at par with either metal the world over. They should be made a legal tender, just as gold and silver certificates are to-day. Nor can it validly be objected that by this coinage system we should gain more of the two metals than is necessary so to maintain prices as to promote a general revival of business. Indeed, the difficulty would be to secure the amount of the metals needed to supply the great demand for money. A system of paper money based upon coin, dollar for dollar, cannot be inflated; it is absolutely safe, and would inspire confidence in its stability. This should be the first step taken by Congress, in whatever readjustment of the currency question may be attempted. There is no doubt but that the silver question must be finally considered whenever Congress undertakes to devise a system of currency to take the place of the national bank issue. We cannot afford to wait the action of other governments, but must mark out a financial road of our own."

The views then held I still entertain. I shall assume, for the purposes of this article, that it is generally admitted that all our credit money should be tied to coin in such a manner as to insure the convertibility of the note; in other words, that paper issues should not be inflated beyond the power of the issues at all times to keep the paper at par with coin. I shall also assume it to be generally admitted that to do this it is not absolutely necessary that a coin reserve equal to the note issue be at all times on hand. Yet, so far as Congress is concerned, and the money issued by the Federal Government is contemplated in my proposition, a dollar of coin or bullion is required for every note issued, the only exception being the $346,000,000 in greenbacks having only $100,000,000 in coin reserve. So far as Congress is concerned, legislation shall be such as the Constitution clearly contemplates—that is, the free coinage of both metals at a value interchangeably established by law. What then? Shall this be the only plan of supplying the people with a circulating medium? The answer

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must be, at least all past experience shows, that the metals alone never have been and in all probability never will be sufficient to supply the demands of our people with a sufficient volume of money. Does this fact necessarily mean that we must abandon metallic money and resort to a material the supply of which is of greater abundance or without limit? Not necessarily so. Yet when we go beyond the limit of coin, or paper represented by coin, dollar for dollar, we enter the realm of good faith, the domain of credit and confidence. We are in the latter condition to-day. We always have been, and probably always will be, to a greater or less extent dependent on good faith and confidence for the stability of our financial system. The advocates of purely fiat money, to be made of a material that has no limit fixed by nature for its supply, and that might have none fixed by law for its volume, rely wholly upon credit, confidence, and good faith for the value and stability of the money issued. If I am to choose between the two, that is, whether my confidence is to be placed in the good faith and solvency of individuals and corporations or in my government, state or federal, I shall unhesitatingly choose my government. So long as we must rely on credit money we ought to have the state guaranty. It is claimed for gold and silver that the supply is naturally so limited that the annual output adds but a very small per cent to the stocks on hand; that it is, therefore, impossible to inflate the volume beyond the pressing monetary demand of increasing wealth and population; that the annual output has by law or common consent, or both, a constant and increasing demand everywhere for monetary uses, and that the supply and the demand are governed by the laws of nature and the laws of commerce.

The only way this automatic or elastic volume of money can be manipulated by governments is to demonetize one or both of the metals, or arbitrarily to change the constituent units. When the legislator, for the purpose of contracting the volume of money and thus enhancing the value of credits, demonetizes one of the metals, he is in no better, in fact he is in worse, business than the legislator who does away entirely with metallic money and issues paper legal tenders to swell the volume of money, and thereby depreciates the value of credits. Assuming again, that we restore our bimetallic system, the unlimited use of both the metals, constituting as they do the money of the world, and that Congress stops these, or at least goes no further than demanded by convenience, that is, authorizes coin-notes to be issued on the deposit of coin or bullion,

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these notes to be a legal tender to the same extent as the coin of which they are the representative, and that we find this system too narrow for a sufficient volume of money—what should we next propose? Can we strengthen the present national banking system so as to find an answer? Clearly not. The people are not in favor of any plan of national banking, especially the present plan, which presupposes an interest-bearing debt as its foundation. During our civil war, naturally, the pendulum of administration swung in the direction of monopoly and centralization; now the old-time jealousy of centralization is fast growing in the minds of the American people. They look upon any plan of national banks pretty much as Jackson did. They believe them to be a monopoly, that they tend to put all our finances in the hands of a few who may expand or contract at will the money volume; that they are a power which has in the past terrorized over Congress and the Executive so as to compel legislation in the interests of the few. History tells them this in a way that cannot be gainsaid. There will be in my opinion no more favors shown to the present or any other system of national banks. Undoubtedly the present system is doomed so far as banks of issue are concerned. Shall we then devise a system of direct issues from the Federal Treasury? The opposition to this is so strong that probably it will not be resorted to, unless as a war measure or to meet some other great emergency. In the conflict of opinion and interest, it is extremely doubtful if Congress can give further relief than by the restoration of silver. If further relief is found necessary, let us repeal the tax on state bank issues and permit the States to supply their citizens with a currency that may be demanded in excess of coin and coin-notes. I know that at first blush this will meet with much opposition and seem more formidably to defy a public sentiment than other plans named. Yet, abstractly speaking, the question may be asked, What right had Congress in the first place thus to suppress state issues so as to give a monopoly to national banks? What justice is there in thus interfering with the rights of the people of the States; and why, indeed, should this injustice be persisted in when Congress is indisposed to give the people of the States any financial relief?

If it were once understood that the Federal Government was remanded back to its undoubted constitutional powers, and would perform those duties enjoined by the constitution, that is, coining freely both the precious metals, gold and silver, for the use of the States, and that the people of the States must look to their own local

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governments to supplement this with whatever credit money they required, we should at once relegate almost entirely the money question from the halls of Congress, and we should hear no more of the sub-treasury schemes and land-loan demands, nor of the many plans for the unlimited issue of purely fiat money. When the tax-payer of the State understands that his own local government must be responsible for credit-money issued, that his property must stand sponsor for the value of the money, that taxation of the citizen of the State will be the guaranty against over-issues, the people will then consider the money question in its true light. We are too prone to view the Federal Government as a great paternal institution, fully competent to provide for all our wants. Our responsibilities cease when we go beyond state lines. We seem to regard "Uncle Sam" as a goose to be plucked. The more any class, or State, or interest gets out of him, the greater the prosperity of that class. The general welfare of all, being, it seems, the concern of all, is the concern of no one in particular. "That which is everybody's business is nobody's business." Let us decentralize awhile, leave less for Uncle Sam to do and more for the people, the States. This was the theory of our fathers. It is in consonance with the genius of our institutions and form of government.

It will be objected that this system will afford no uniformity of value to our money, that the notes of one State would be in all probability at a discount in another. The answer is that we have progressed too far as a people in our knowledge upon this subject to enter upon any system of wild-cat banking. It is not at all likely that the people of any State would institute a system that the whole State would not stand sponsor for, and pledge the good faith and the property of the State as a guaranty for the solvency of the notes. Before the state banks were suppressed by the ten-per-cent tax imposed upon them, they were for the most part in secure condition and their notes were as good as coin. State issues, of course, could not be made legal tender, but they would be convertible into legal tender at the will of the holder. Should any State deposit into the Federal Treasury a sufficient percentage of coin to guarantee the redemption of its notes on demand, and also a certificate of indebtedness sufficient to make up the difference between the coin deposited and the amount of notes issued, there could be no valid objection to the Federal Government receiving the notes for all public dues and standing as sponsor for the ultimate redemption of the notes. It is true no State can be sued by the Federal Government or compelled to pay its debts,

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but this is so as to all state bonds as well as to federal bonds. Yet the bonds of the State are as eagerly sought for as investments as the bonds of the Federal Government. It is not, however, the purpose of this article to particularize or to enter into details, but merely to state generally the basis on which state issues could be made absolutely safe. With a system such as herein indicated it is believed the currency question would be no longer a matter of doubt and uncertainty, but would be permanently adjusted on safer and satisfactory footing.

The need of such a system is apparent. We are now in the anomalous condition of chronic panic. If for any reason our gold is drawn abroad, confidence flees, hoarding begins, and all business is threatened with collapse. On the other hand, should gold leave western Europe, a panic is threatened there. We feel the reflex action to such an extent as to be in little better condition than when we are the losers of gold. No matter which side gets into a panic, the other suffers also. It is no secret that last fall we stood in dread of the great demand for money to move our agricultural products. They could not have been moved except at greatly reduced prices, such as would have left no margin of profit to the producer but for the fact, in the case at least of our cereals, that the failure of crops elsewhere compelled the starving people of the Old World to look to us for bread. This has enabled our grain and other food producers to sell at a profit, though even in this extraordinary event their profits were small indeed. The strain thus put upon the gold of the world to buy food has lessened its ability to aid in moving our cotton; so the cotton farmer finds no possibility of parting with his product except at a loss.

Our system or volume of money is not elastic enough to meet any extraordinary demands. Our wheat and cotton cannot be moved at the same time except at prices that must bankrupt the producers. If it were possible for the laboring and producing classes of this and other countries to exchange their products without the interference of governments acting in the capacity of middlemen, taking all the profits and more at the custom houses, there would not be the great demand for money we now require to move our surplus. But the taxation of the Old World to keep up its standing armies, and of our own government to defray war expenditures in times of peace, dooms all to the pitiless exactions of the tax-gatherer. These exactions cannot be borne without a volume of money commensurate with the drain

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imposed upon labor. To enhance these exactions without a corresponding increase in the circulating medium is simply to confiscate the earnings of the poor. Economy in administration should be the watchword, but no possible economy can materially lessen the burden of taxation if we are to appropriate all the money demanded by the laws on the statute books. During the most economical administration of the government since the war we appropriated over $800,000,000, at one Congress of two years, and yet failed to appropriate all that was asked for by the various departments; and that, too, at a time when our pension list called for only $85,000,000, an item which is now nearly doubled. Indeed, our present pension laws represent a capitalized debt of at least five billions of dollars. Shall we repeal or modify the laws requiring these great burdens? No political party seems willing to pledge itself to perform the task.

A reduction of taxation necessarily means a shifting of the burden of taxation. The tax that is laid upon the necessaries of life, the articles essential to the comfort of the poor, that restricts the markets for his labor and the products of his labor, must be abolished. Taxation ought to be borne by the wealth of the country in fair proportion. In the abstract, the laws necessitating taxation must be repealed before taxes can be reduced. Inasmuch as there is no promise from any source of this repeal, taxation in some form will go on. There is no blinking this fact, nor can the people be deceived as to the real situation. To compel the productive industries of this country to bear these enormous exactions of war taxes in times of peace without a sufficient volume of money to sustain the wage of labor and the price of the products of labor, is simply a pitiless decree of confiscation of all the profits of labor. The plan proposed, however, means no inflation beyond that supplied by the metals in accordance with the laws of supply and demand, thus utilizing the money of our Constitution and the money of the world as the basis of our credit merely, no credit money to be issued beyond the amount that can be at all times redeemed in the money metals of the world. A report issued by authority of the secretary of the treasury on the first day of last July, pending the elections, giving the amounts and kinds of moneys in circulation, and in the treasury, showed the following:

IN THE TREASURY.

Gold	$176,450,378
Silver dollars	347,976,227
Total coin	$524,426,605

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CREDIT MONEY.

Gold certificates	$120,840,399
Silver certificates	307,364,148
Treasury notes	40,463,165
U. S. notes	345,079,272
National bank notes	162,272,800
Total credit	$976,019,784

It will not be contended that a reserve of only $176,450,378 of gold is a safe reserve for $976,019,784 credit money. Yet, if we are to believe the contention of the gold party, all this vast superstructure of credit rests upon gold only. If this is true, and we continue to add fifty-four millions annually in the shape of bullion notes redeemable in gold, one of two things will happen—either gold will slip from under this weight and go at one bound to a premium, or the contention of the fiat money advocate will be proven, that is, that no coin reserve is necessary for our paper. But the real truth is, on this same date $347,976,227 in silver were in the treasury, constituting a legal redemption fund for this pile of credit. This reserve sustains or aids gold in sustaining our credit. If the fact that our reserve today is principally silver puts us on the silver basis, then we admit all that is alleged against free coinage, namely, that our coins will consist principally of silver, and in that sense we shall be just as we now are, on the silver basis. But who is hurt? Every dollar of our money is as good as every other dollar. Free coinage would only add another element, that is, the bullion in the silver dollar would be as good as the dollar now is, for the holders of the bullion could at once have it converted at the mint into a dollar precisely as gold is now coined.

But it is urged that to do this it is necessary to impart to all the silver of the world a greater value than it now possesses. This is not true, and as a proof of the fallacy of this statement the fact is cited that the immense stock of coined silver in the world is now at par with gold, most of it at value greater than our mints give to it as compared with gold. The ratio of the Old World being 15½ to 1 and ours 16 to 1 show that silver is worth more when it is there than here, and that to send it here for coinage would entail a loss of three cents on every dollar brought to our mints. It is not denied, however, that the claim put forth and the effort made to induce the public to believe that all our credit money rests on gold only for its ultimate redemption, and the published statements from time to time that, if necessary, the secretary of the treasury will again sell bonds for gold to procure

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a sufficiency of that metal to preserve and maintain a single gold redemption, has had the effect of very greatly enhancing the value of gold.

The large purchases of silver authorized, by which 4,500,000 ounces are purchased every month, have not tended to bring the two metals nearer together, for the very plain reason that the notes issued in the purchase of this bullion are treated by law and the Treasury Department as gold notes. The coinage of silver dollars is suspended. This new strain put upon gold redemption, aggregating about $54,000,000 annually, has caused a semi-panic in the gold market and sent gold up as compared to silver. This result was predicted by the writer in a report protesting against the passage of the Bullion Bill in the last Congress, as follows:[1]

"So, as before pointed out, our three hundred and fifty-five millions of silver dollars had taken the place of so much gold, and to that extent relieved gold of its work and cheapened it the world over. But for the silver we have coined, silver bullion and all other commodities would have been lower as compared to gold than they are now; so that the moment we suspend the coinage of this competing dollar and make gold the sole valuator for all redemptions, as the bill proposes, then gold must of necessity continue more rapidly to rise than heretofore. The divergence in value of the two metals as compared to each other will increase instead of diminish. It is impossible that the warehousing of silver may increase its value as compared to other commodities, but gold of necessity would go up at a greater ratio than silver. So that the promoters of the bill will find themselves cheated in the main objects sought—that is, the increase of the value of the silver as compared to gold."

Should the secretary of the treasury attempt to sell bonds to procure more gold, as he has threatened to do, he would find that he had precipitated a very general feeling of panic, if not the real thing itself. He can easily produce a panic, but he will find it difficult to get the gold. It cannot be had. It is nowhere to be found. No country can spare it without financial disaster. The gold craze has gone to the last extremity. Another strain and the end of this conspiracy will come. The blanket is too short and too narrow; it will not go round. Free coinage will give an increased use for silver and a proportionate decreased demand for gold. This will cause the one perceptibly to rise and the other to fall, until the parity is practically restored.

R. P. BLAND.

[1] See Report of House of Representatives, No. 1,086, first session of 51st Congress, page 8.

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A CASE OF GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

AT the close of an article in THE FORUM for October, 1891, President Eliot remarks, "Before municipal government can be set right in the United States, municipal service must be made a life career for intelligent and self-respecting young Americans," and he refers in general to the administration of European cities as illustrating this principle. I wish to follow the same subject a little further by way of concrete illustration, and to describe in detail the method of governing a large German town. I am not one of those who find the governmental paternalism of Germany always working for good. On the contrary, the impression which the country at large gives, as one returns to it after a dozen years, seems to me that of being over-governed. The governmental control which is omnipresent, not only does not do everything well—as the few and creeping express-trains of the country sufficiently testify—but it has also tended to weaken the self-confidence and self-respect of the people. The Germans have been drilled into perfect order, but they are in danger of losing the power of individual initiative. The first instinct of an American citizen is to act; the first instinct of a German citizen is to obey. The weight of the national government, with its compulsory army-service, its compulsory insurance-system, and its interference at every turn, presses heavily and is provoking in these last years a strong reaction. But, on the other hand, in the smaller field of municipal administration, the German is at his best. The city works of Germany are not so magnificent as those of France, nor are the police so imposing or so considerate as those of England, but so far as concerns the essentials of good city government—the security of health, the precautions concerning life, food, drink, poverty, and crime, and the provisions for popular pleasure which make a town good to dwell in—one feels that in the best German cities one has the most substantial administration of the world. Of the thousands of Americans who visit the city of Dresden every year and the hundreds who each year spend the winter months there, hardly one can fail to be impressed by its municipal affairs. Its streets are so clean and so smooth that one walks in the roadway as

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freely as on the sidewalks; its police regulations are so enforced that one may traverse the streets for months by day and night without seeing a sign of disorder; its water supply is excellent, its penalties for the adulteration of food and the falsification of weights and measures are severe; its inspection of all forms of business, of buildings and of markets is scrupulous, and the condition of the public health which is the result of these precautions gives a death rate just five per thousand less than in the rest of Saxony.[1] How, then, I go on to inquire, is such a city practically governed, and what lessons has its administration to teach to the citizens of a free estate?

Dresden, the capital of Saxony, and the residence of the King, with 276,522 inhabitants on December 1, 1890, has, in common with all the larger Saxon towns, the basis of its local government in the Saxon law of April 24, 1873 (Revised Statutes for town affairs). This general law prescribes the method of city government by two chambers, provides for separate and joint sessions of the two, and for procedure in case of difference, regulates citizenship and principles of taxation, and defines the relation of town to the national government. In addition to and in accordance with this state law, Dresden, like all other towns, has its own local statutes (*Ortsstatuten*, April 4, 1882, with some amendments). The local statutes must be approved by the minister of the interior and deal with all administrative details. Under these two statutes the city government is regulated as follows:

1. Citizenship: Any inhabitant can become a citizen if (*a*) he is a Saxon, (*b*) is over 25, (*c*) has received no public poor relief for two years, (*d*) is not under conviction for crime, (*e*) has paid his taxes for two years, and (*f*) either owns real-estate in the town or for two years has lived there for the greater part of each year. To this permissive statute there is added a second and more exceptional one. All males conforming in other respects to the first statute and who in addition (*a*) have had their residence in Dresden for three years and (*b*) paid $2.25 (9 marks) or more in state taxes, not only may become citizens,

[1] All this, it should be added, occurs in a country of very moderate general prosperity. Saxony is now one of the most thickly populated regions in Europe, and the great proportion of its people are distinctly poor. The state statistics for 1890 give the following four classes of incomes and the proportion of citizens receiving each:

Less than $200	76.33%
Less than $825	20.94%
Less than $2,400	2.24%
More than $2,400	.49%

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as under the first statute, but must. This compulsory citizenship, so strange to American ears, is intended to secure to the town the support of the more permanent and responsible class. Each person on claiming citizenship pays a poll-tax of 75 cents, but pays it only once. It may thus be said in general, that a nearer approach to universal suffrage is reached in Germany than under the annual poll-tax system in the United States. Any male citizen who has not become either a pauper or a criminal or a bankrupt may vote for town officers and is qualified to be chosen himself. A citizen if elected cannot refuse to serve unless, (*a*) he is over sixty years of age, (*b*) holds other town office, or (*c*) has serious illness.

2. City government: The city government of Dresden is made up of two chambers, (*a*) the City Council (*Stadtverordnete*), (*b*) the Board of Aldermen (*Stadtrat*). The City Council consists of seventy-two members, each elected for three years, and twenty-four retiring each year. Members usually are re-elected. One-half must be owners of real-estate in the city, and one-half must be representatives of that large class of persons who, as in all European cities, live in rented flats and are not householders. This large City Council has but slight initiative power. It acts as intermediary between the Board of Aldermen and the people, it confirms acts of the upper board, and it elects the members of that board. It is a town parliament, a popular assembly. The positive administration of city affairs lies with the Board of Aldermen, and it is in the composition of this board that we meet the radical contrast with American methods. The Dresden *Stadtrat* consists of thirty members. Of these, sixteen, a majority, hold office without pay and their duties are largely advisory and honorary. The remaining fourteen aldermen, however, are salaried officials, giving their whole time to departmental business and dividing the important departments between them. All the aldermen, with two exceptions, are elected by the City Council for terms of three years, it being prescribed that of the fourteen salaried aldermen two-thirds must have had a professional training in the law and have passed the state examination for that calling. The honorary aldermen retire at the end of their terms, unless re-elected for a second term of three years. The salaried officials, on the other hand, may be and as a rule are re-elected during their first term either for a second series of years or for life. The two exceptions as to election by the City Council are the officials whom we should call the mayor (*Ober-Bürgermeister*) and the vice-mayor (*Bürgermeister*). These chief officials are elected by the Coun-

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cil and the Board of Aldermen in joint session, it being by no means necessary that the persons thus elected should be, or should have been, in the city government, or should even be citizens of Dresden. The men sought for these high offices are persons who have distinguished themselves either in the same city or in some other town in the profession of city administration. Thus, the present *Bürgermeister* of Berlin was, when elected, holding the same office in Breslau, the second city of Prussia, and was called to be mayor of Berlin precisely as a successful professor in the University of Breslau might be called to the larger university at Berlin. The salaried members of the Board of Aldermen of Dresden receive from $1,500 to $2,000 each per annum, the mayor $3,000, and the vice-mayor $2,400—salaries which according to German standards are honorable, and which should be a little more than doubled to give them the same meaning to Americans. The incomes of the mayor and vice-mayor, it should be added, are considerably supplemented by two special funds bequeathed for the peculiar expenses of these offices. There is also a high degree of dignity and social importance attached to these positions; and still further, when a salaried official is no longer able to serve he gets a pension amounting to from 30% to 80% of his former income, having during his service contributed to the pension fund 1% to 2% of his salary. Finally, any salaried alderman may be removed from office for any criminal act, under the Saxon law of June 2, 1876.

Such, in brief, is the method of administration in this typical German city. The contrast it presents with city government in the United States need not be emphasized. It is the contrast between government for the sake of the city and government for the sake of the officials. With us, municipal offices are the spoils of successful politicians; in Germany they are the prizes of successful experts. It seems to a German as incredible to hear of a city governed by men who are just pausing on their way to some higher place as it would be to hear of a railroad or of a cotton-mill thus superintended. Good city administration with us is an accident. It occurs because the man with the appointing power happens to appoint a good agent. In Germany, city work is a science as far from politics as is the science of engineering or architecture. Each salaried alderman is responsible for a single department, or for several closely allied parts of the public business. He does not serve, as do our aldermen, on three or four scattered committees—schools, licenses, and sewers—about none of which he has any scientific knowledge. He is elected to his office

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because of his knowledge and skill in a special field of municipal work, and takes charge of that department. Thus, city work offers to a young German a life career, just as railroading or manufacturing does in America. An educated man makes a special study of water-works or building-laws or poor-relief. He learns the methods of the best European cities. He serves his time in the administration of some small town, and, perhaps, gets a place at the head of his chosen department in some small city, and tries to make that department a model of efficiency and economy; finally, he finds the end of his professional ambition in being promoted to the same work in one of the great cities of the kingdom. Here he has a place of dignity in the social world, and, if successful, holds a life office with the assurance of a pension for himself and his family. Neither politics nor even residence affects a city government in its selection of such a man. It is indeed of some importance that the mayor of a royal capital like Dresden, who is brought into constant relation with the King of Saxony, be agreeable to the king, and, as a matter of fact, the present mayor of Dresden is a conservative; but it is also a fact that while the majority of voters of Dresden are conservatives, the vice-mayor and a majority of the Board of Aldermen are liberals. Nor, furthermore, is it of the slightest importance that these administrative offices be filled by residents of the town. On the contrary, just as a great railroad in America looks over the whole country for the best general manager or engineer and tempts him by a large salary to leave the smaller road where he has done good work, so a large city in Germany looks the country over for the best administered town or the best conducted department, and bids for the best man to do its work.

Through the courtesy of one of the aldermen of Dresden, I have had prepared for me, from the official records of the city, the following table which presents in a systematic form most of the facts I have described. The first column gives the names of the whole Board of Aldermen, separating the salaried list from those who hold honorary office and have other vocations besides their city work. The second column indicates the department to which each alderman specially devotes himself. The third column deals with the service of each alderman in the lower chamber of Dresden, if he has ever had a term of service there. The last column gives the date of appointment to the upper board, with such other personal history as is important. Thus, for instance, it will be seen, in the case of the present mayor (*Ober-Bürgermeister*) of Dresden, Dr. Stübel, that he first entered the city

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service in 1856 and served ten years without pay in the Common Council; he was then (1866) elected a salaried alderman, thus turning from his profession of the law to the career of city administration; after ten years of this salaried service he was promoted to be vice-mayor (*Bürgermeister*), and the next year, a vacancy occurring, he was made mayor. This position of importance he has now held for fifteen years and in addition is a deputy in the senate of the Saxon legislature (*Erste Kammer des Landtages*). The case of the vice-mayor, Boenisch, is quite different. While Dr. Stübel has served the city of Dresden for thirty-six years, the next in importance of the board was not trained in the service of Dresden at all, but was imported from another town. He was for years concerned with the administration of Chemnitz, the third city of Saxony and the centre of its manufacturing industry. Being successful as an alderman in Chemnitz, he was in 1871 called to Dresden, and in 1884 he was promoted to be *Bürgermeister*. He has special charge of the city finances and sits as a representative in the lower house of the Saxon legislature, being also the head commissioner of the state debt. The functions of the other salaried aldermen are specialized in the same way. The majority of the board are not promotions from the Common Council of Dresden, but are importations from the salaried posts of other towns.

The straight road to high office, that is practically to say, is to choose the career of city official early in life, to settle in some small place and win promotion; though, on the other hand, it is not infrequent to proceed, as in the case of Dr. Stübel and two others on the Dresden board, through unpaid service in the lower chamber to a life place as alderman. The last appointments as salaried aldermen, Nos. 13 and 14, have been lately made because of the great development of building both in the city by private persons and for the city's own business. It became necessary on February 7, 1889, to amend the *Ortsstatuten* defining the number of salaried aldermen, and two expert builders were added to the board, one of whom deals with the whole question of drainage (*Tiefbauamt*), and the other with the inspection of all building works (*Hochbauamt*). As to the unpaid members of the board, it will be seen from the table that they for the most part take only slight and special responsibilities. Some of them have only advisory and representative functions; a few give considerable service in directions which look to election among the salaried members, and some limit themselves to the oversight of special institutions. Thus, the alderman to whom I am specially indebted for

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I. SALARIED ALDERMEN. (*Besoldete Ratsmitglieder.*)

Names.	Departments.	Councilmen.	Aldermen.
1. Dr. Stübel.	Statistics..... Residence, Archives, Town Museum.	1856–66, 10 yrs.	August 9, 1866. Vice-Mayor since 1866. Mayor since April 22, 1877. Deputy in Upper House of State Legis. (*Landtag*).
2. Boenisch...	Finance	.....	September 11, 1871. Vice-Mayor since October 20, 1884. Before 1871, Alderman at Chemnitz. Deputy in Lower House of State Legis. (*Landtag*).
3. Teucher....	Fire and Police..... Streets, Telegraphs & Teleph'ne	1859–63, 5 yrs.	July 1, 1863.
4. Kunze.....	Poor Relief.....	.....	July 14, 1873. Before 1873, Vice-Mayor at Grossenhain.
5. Hendel.....	Sanitary Police..... Vaccination, Inspection of Markets, Arbitration.	1872–74, 3 yrs.	October 8, 1874. Before 1874, Lawyer in Dresden.
6. Grabowsky	City Registration.....	....	January 17, 1876. Before 1876, Vice-Mayor at Thum.
7. Boettger...	Assessment of Taxes .. Militia Tolls, Fire Insurance.	....	October 1, 1875. Before 1875, Vice-Mayor at Reichenbach.
8. Geir.....	Inspection of Trades... Inspection of the Compulsory Insurance of workingmen in Dresden, Legitimation papers for workingmen.	.....	October 15, 1877. Before 1877, Vice-Mayor at Schneeberg.
9. Dr. Nake...	Public & Private Sch'ls Children's Reformatory.	.....	Honorary Alderman, November 23, 1878. Salaried since June 6, 1879. Before 1878, Lawyer at Dresden.
10. Ruhn	Bureau of Citizenship.. City Hospitals.	.....	January 5, 1885. Before 1885, Vice-Mayor at Frankenberg.
11. Leupold ...	City Architect.....	.....	January 5, 1885. Before 1885, Alderman at Zittau.
12. Hetchel....	Inspection of Buildings City Engineer.	.....	September 1, 1887. Before 1887, Vice-Mayor at Treuen.
13. Klette	Sewers.....	.....	May 1, 1889.
14. Bräter	City Buildings.....	.....	July 1, 1891.

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II. HONORARY ALDERMEN. (*Unbesoldete Ratsmitglieder.*)

Names.	Departments.	Councilmen.	Aldermen.
1. Carl, merchant....	Women's Asylum.	1886–July 14, 1889, 3½ yrs...	July 15, 1889.
2. Friedrich, M'f'r....	Parks.....	1878–1880, 3 years.....	Jan. 3, 1881.
3. Hollstein, Civ. Eng.	.....	1883–1884, 2 years.....	Jan. 5, 1885.
4. Kaiser, Architect,..	.....	1879–1884, 6 years.....	Sept. 8, 1884.
5. Lingke, Hotel-k'p'r.	Burials..... Insane.	1882–1884, 3 years.....	Jan. 5, 1885.
6. Dr. Lotze, Phy'c'n.	Home for Invalid Women.	1884–1886, 3 years.....	Jan. 3, 1887.
7. Richter, Architect..	.....	1872–May, 1878, 6 5/12 years..	May 27, 1878.
8. Dr. Rothe, Apoth'y.	Orphan Asylum.	1869–1882, 14 years.....	Jan. 2, 1883.
9. Schaal, Merchant..	Children's Hospital. Foundlings' Hospital.	1880–1886, 7 years.....	Jan. 3, 1887.
10. Schickert, Treas'r..	Public Light, Gas Works.	1882, 1 year.....	Nov. 1, 1882.
11. Schmidt, Lawyer..	Home for Aged Men.	1883–1886, 3¾ years.....	Oct. 18, 1886.
12. Schnabel, Merchant	.....	1886–1890, 5 years.....	Jan. 3, 1891.
13. Schröder, Printer..	Poorhouse....	1877–1885, 9 years.....	Nov. 9, 1885.
14. Schroeter, Teacher.	.....	1881–1884, 4 years.....	Jan. 5, 1885.
15. Wagner, Merchant.	.....	1883–1885, 3 years.....	Jan. 2, 1889.
16. Weigandt, Merch't.	.....	1885–1890, 6 years.....	Jan. 3, 1891.
17. Wetzlich, M'f'r.....	.....	1883–1888, 6 years.....	Jan. 2, 1889.
18. Zieschner.....	.....	1887–1891, 5 years.....	Nov., 1891.

information is a practising physician and devotes himself as a city official to the oversight of a Woman's Hospital, of whose administration he is justly proud. These honorary officials have, without exception, served terms in the Common Council before being chosen aldermen. They are, in short, men of various callings who—like many city officials in America—take office for the sake of the honor it brings or the public service they want to render, or for both. Their position differs from that of aldermen in America only by their being elected for longer terms and by their deputing to specialists the serious duties which they cannot themselves pretend to understand.

I do not propose to argue that even this business system makes German administration perfect. City work in Germany seems to an American to be slowly and sometimes clumsily done. It is involved in a long municipal history and in traditions of method from which

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American cities are happily free. It takes a much larger bureau of clerks to deal with a city department than with us, and, though their hours of duty greatly exceed what we call a day's work, they do not seem to work as hard. An American administrator of an economical turn of mind would be inclined to cut down his staff at once and would devise more ingenious and time-saving methods. But all this is to be noticed in other German work. A German railway station employs quite twice as many officials as an American; a German tailor takes twice as many measures for one's coat as his American brother, and is not so good an artist. German methods are everywhere plodding and patient rather than brilliant and novel. The German seems to have been created to teach the world thoroughness and system, and the agile American mind, if it will only learn this lesson of the system-makers, has its own capacity for quick and practical execution. When, however, we turn to the German scheme, considered merely as a system, and compare it with the happy-go-lucky way in which an American city is governed, there is really no room for a difference of opinion. City business in the United States is conducted as no man would think of conducting his own affairs. If we imagine the stockholders of a woollen mill called together each year to elect a new superintendent and testing his fitness to manage the mill by his preference for Mr. Blaine or for Mr. Cleveland, we get some notion of what it means to elect a city government each year and to assign to its committees the much more complicated business of a city water-supply or drainage-system or poor-relief. New men on short terms make the least progressive administration. They can hardly help walking in their predecessors' footsteps. They have no time for radical reform, and their political future depends so much on their making no enemies that their only safe rule of life is to make no mistakes and to disturb people and institutions as little as possible.

There are, however, several objections to this business view of city government which will at once occur to American minds and which I wish lastly to consider. In the first place, it will be called impracticable, and, indeed, it would involve a radical change in our traditional views of party-government. To say, however, that a plan which is in other respects a good plan is impracticable in the United States is simply to confess lack of faith in democratic institutions. It is to say that the best things in a monarchy cannot be had in a republic, and this is not only disloyal but wholly unjustified. The American people have, as a matter of fact, shown themselves marvellously capa-

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ble of new ideas as soon as they were seen to be good ideas. As soon as the average American can be made to see a practical advantage gained by a new way of administration, he will insist upon getting his money's worth. City government is the place where the plain citizen can be most easily made to feel this advantage. It deals with matters of his daily comfort and safety, and its direction by trained public servants would affect each citizen every day. It is the easiest place in which to teach the first lessons in civil-service reform.

Again, it will be said that this permanence of tenure, even if practicable, would bring with it new dangers of its own. Would it not tend to load a city with a staff of life officials who might be lazy and indifferent to public welfare because not subject to public opinion? This danger is certainly real. Any appointment made for a long term is a serious matter. An incompetent or indolent man once fairly established in office may for a long time retard reform. We feel this seriousness when in the United States we elect judges for life or when the governor appoints them. But this very seriousness of the case is likely to give us better men. Elections for short terms are so unimportant that we put up with any candidate not likely to do much harm; elections for long terms bring a new sense of responsibility to every voter. Moreover, we must compare the possible risk with the present one. Under the German system we should get, as the Germans do, an occasional failure; under our present system we get an occasional and accidental success. The uncertain tenure of city work repels the best men; the possibility of a career would invite them. The risk is inherent in the case. When a professor is appointed in a college or the directors of a bank elect a president, they have to run the same risk, and that is what makes them careful. You cannot get a good man without offering him a good place, and you cannot make this offer without risking a mistake. Still further, this risk may be in some degree met by checks and restrictions. The aldermen of Dresden are, as I have said, elected from those who have already proved their capacity elsewhere, and each is elected for three years, in which term he is again tested. Each is responsible to a Council which is constantly refreshed by the direct votes of the citizens. The salaried officers are a minority of their own board. They are, as it were, cabinet officers with seats and votes in the legislative house. These and other similar checks would readily occur to the American mind, and the whole system has the possibility of a gradual and cautious beginning.

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One other form of danger might be anticipated—the risk which many Americans feel in the present tendency to increase the functions of government. Over against the movement in America known as nationalism, which is urging the extension of these functions, there are many who cannot forget the American tradition of personal and business liberty and who dread any inroad of German paternalism. To this objection I should reply, first of all, that for my own part I do not much care what school of philosophy lays claim to a plan of city work, provided that the plan is a good one. Whether a city should do certain pieces of work itself, instead of letting the job out, appears to me the same simple question of practical efficiency which almost every manager of a large business has to settle from day to day in dealing with his agents and brokers. It makes a small foundation for a general political philosophy. Indeed, the very title of nationalism, as given to a party dealing chiefly with municipal affairs, confuses two distinct things. The maxims which apply to city government are by no means the same as those which apply to national affairs. A national government is involved in international relations; it has national ideals, a theory of the tariff, views of personal liberty to perpetuate, and national parties divide on these great issues. A city government, on the other hand, is a matter of drains and water, of street-sweeping and fire-engines, of cleanliness and health—things about which no political philosophy is needed. The only question which concerns these functions is how to get this work well done.

Still further, so far as concerns this danger—if it may be called a real danger—of enlarging the functions of a city government, I should wish especially to emphasize that it is not involved in the question before us. The plan which I have described does not necessarily imply an increase of functions at all. It is only a plan for doing better the work which is already being done. The cities already have large business functions. They spend vast sums, but on principles which no good citizen would permit in his private affairs. The nationalist precisely reverses the right order of reform. He asks that while city government is thus ill-administered we should give it still more to do, taking, as Mr. Spencer has said, the ten talents from the wise servants and giving them to the unprofitable one. The right order of reform would seem to be the opposite. First, establish city work on business principles and under expert agents; let the work which the city already does be thoroughly well done, and then, perhaps, extend that work. Cleanse the inside of the cup and platter,

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and then it will be time enough to consider what new provision they can be made to hold.

Finally, it will be objected to such a business system in cities that it is un-American. Permanent tenure seems to have something monarchical, aristocratic, European about it. It will be said to create an oligarchy of office-holders. The American system gives every man a chance at the offices. Turn about is fair play. Any American is fit for any office. Why should a country so prosperous as ours learn lessons in government from the effete monarchies of the old world, while the people of those declining countries are emigrating in thousands to our better land? This is in reality nothing but the politician's view of the case. The present situation is merely that of a political "pool." The "workers" of both parties are inside, and the mass of tax-payers are outside. The politicians differ as to which of their two groups shall have the offices, but are agreed that it shall be one group or the other. They have even so far wrested city business from its natural method as to make it seem a necessary part of national politics, and they would, no doubt, say with perfect sincerity: "If city government is not to be a matter of party caucuses and deals, how are we to run the country? How shall party voters be made? How is the public heart to be kept warm for national elections? What is to become of the American system of government?" As if Germany, because she has no city politics, had any lack of national politics and did not find plenty of clear issues for party divisions and plenty of warmth in party debates. Meantime, with us, the public at large is paying for this little game of city politics which has no more place in city business than in a bank or in a mill. When some peculiar gross foulness of streets or some especially grave neglect of sanitary precaution occurs, the American public rebels; but for the most part it goes about its business and leaves the city to be the instrument of party ends. And what is it which, in this state of affairs, keeps city administration from absolute disaster? It is, we should remember, the unacknowledged and unofficial existence among us of the very system which I have described and which the politicians would call un-American—a body of permanent and trained departmental servants, serving through a series of administrations and really doing the work which the temporary officials are supposed to do. Each city and each department of a city has this staff—city treasurers, city engineers, city auditors, and the rest—whose permanence of tenure is absolutely essential to progressive administration. How can a committee of city

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aldermen, one of whom has been all his life a stock-broker, and one a liquor-dealer and one a man of leisure, deal scientifically in the single year of their service with great questions like that of a system of sewerage or of electric motors? They must depend on the expert advice to be found in the city departments or to be procured by the city for the emergency. All that the German system proposes is the official and secure establishment of a principle which is even now practically accepted. Why should not these experts, on whom we now depend for the administration of the city, have safe positions instead of being in the hands of men who are using city business for political ends? Why should private corporations, by offering permanent tenure, get better servants than the larger and richer corporations of American cities as a rule secure? Why not, in short, have this business done as it is done in other civilized countries? The American people, who are certainly the quickest-witted of the nations, will not long be so dull as to keep a protective tariff on our way of municipal work for the sake of party politics. It may be a wise policy for us to shut out of the country the importation of good Saxon stockings, but at least we might have free trade in good Saxon ideas.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

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INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE SOUTH.

A PURELY statistical statement of the great growth of the South during the past fifteen years, in wealth, in manufactures, in mining and in productions of field, forest, and farm, will compare favorably, both as to progress and to promise of future achievement, with similar records of any other portion of our country. But mere statistics can tell but a small part of the real story, and indicate nothing of the emphasis which its details give to the promise of future industrial wealth.

The boundaries, of what is generally known as the South, may be more sharply defined than is usual with industrial subdivisions of a continent inhabited by a single people. They include that portion of the country from Maryland to the Rio Grande which was the theatre of war for the four years 1861–1865, and, except the States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the theatre of a reconstruction, which exercised very unfavorable influences upon industrial development, for several years longer. The war, moreover, was peculiarly a war of devastation. It was often the distinct policy of the invading armies to destroy, not only railroads, bridges, factories, and all munitions of war, but even all provisions, barns, farming implements, domestic animals, and fences, and generally to reduce the district marched over, to such a condition "that a crow flying over it would have to carry his rations." Meanwhile the "cradle and the grave" were robbed to furnish food for powder, and to keep up resistance to the bitter end of unconditional surrender after utter exhaustion.

When the last fragments of the southern army returned on foot to what homes were left them, there being no railroads to carry them, there was apparently about as little left the South for a fresh start as ever a people began with. But the progress from that beginning during the short period since has been so great as to make plain that what was left possessed peculiar merit. What was left consisted principally of the climate and the soil. Geographical location with reference to other producing sections of the country, which will

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doubtless exercise a very great influence upon future development, has as yet cut no figure, and will be referred to hereafter.

But for what exists to-day I give the whole credit to the wonderful resources of climate and soil, of field, forest, and mine, which even the South itself does not yet fully realize. The energy, the industry, the intelligence of the people, and the enterprise of the railroads have been no greater than of other people, and of other railroads elsewhere. There is no more monopoly of these qualities among men born in different States than among men born on different days of the week. And there are everywhere enough instances of folly and bad judgment in individuals, corporations, and legislatures almost to justify the assertion that our material prosperity has come rather in spite of our many short-comings and mistakes than from our merits or intelligence. We have seen that the South had to make a very meagre beginning in the start to rebuild its fortunes after the war. Its capital was wiped out of existence, its "plant" greatly impaired, its labor was disorganized by the freedom of the former slaves, and its political condition disturbed and unsettled, and distinctly unfavorable to the investment of capital.

In the North and West all these conditions were reversed. The enormous expenditures of the war made money plentiful there, and every business was prosperous. If I may liken the material development of the two sections to the rolling of balls of snow, the Northern ball was already of large size and under full headway, and it has been constantly helped since by a powerful force of which the Southern ball has scarcely yet felt the slightest impulse, but which is certain to come in the future with marked effect. I refer to immigration. A full tide has unceasingly poured into the North and West, filling the waste places even to the Rocky Mountains and overflowing to the shores of the Pacific. Neither the extremes of heat and cold, drought and blizzards, nor prairie fires and grasshoppers, nor distance from market and scarcity of fuel—have been barriers to the demand of men for land upon which to live and work. Meanwhile, except in a portion of Texas, it may almost be said that the South has been without an immigrant. Her increase of population and of wealth is all of native origin. Like an endogenous tree, her growth is as yet all from the inside.

The reasons why immigration thus passes her by are foreign to this paper, even if they were easy to assign. The fact is sometimes ascribed to the unwillingness of the immigrant to labor in competition

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with the negro. If these two are indeed irreconcilable, the record would seem to indicate that the South may be well content with what she has for the present, and trust to time and events for the future. Her labor as yet seems not inferior to that of any other country, as judged either by statistics of results or by lack of disturbance in reaching them. The "negro problem" is but a "romance of the mouth," and all schemes of deportation and colonization of the negro race are only silly. In the South the two races need each other, and get along better together every year. The characteristics of the negro eminently adapt him to the needs of the South; the South as eminently suits him, and his fair treatment should be a matter of prime concern to every man interested in its prosperity. Returning now to my simile likening the growth and development of the sections to the rolling of balls of snow, I can say that the growth of the Southern ball from its small and difficult beginning, without the help of the outside force of immigration, clearly demonstrates that the slope, or the primary natural conditions of the soil and climate, are most favorable to its progress. The limits of this article do not permit me to go fully into the statistics of this progress, and I can but indicate by illustrations how the industrial interests and transportation lines have in their development acted and reacted upon each other until the joint product is now a section of our common country well equipped to bear its part in the commercial conquest of this hemisphere, and in position to reap peculiar benefits from the general prosperity.

In the early days after the war the South produced generally but three staples sufficiently valuable to stand the cost of long transportation by rail: cotton, sugar, and tobacco. Her forests were full of timber and naval stores unmatched in the world, and her mines of coal and iron and phosphates of great value, but the few small and weak railroads of different gauges, and laid with iron rails, could not handle heavy products at rates that made long hauls possible. Their mutual disabilities kept the railroads poor, and the resources of the country undeveloped. The overcoming of such mutual disabilities is a slow process, but little by little it has come at last. Only about ten years ago was there any noticeable tendency to consolidate the numerous short roads into considerable systems, and only in 1885 were the gauges of the Southern roads made uniform with each other and with the roads of the North. But recently that process of consolidation into large systems and long lines, long ago followed at the North and

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West and essential everywhere to cheap transportation and effective service, has made rapid progress, and striking results are already apparent.

A recent bulletin of the Census Bureau gives comparative statistics of the operations of railroads for the six States of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky for the years 1880 and 1889, which illustrate as well the increase of production and of general prosperity as the improved condition and traffic of the railroads themselves, not only in these States, but throughout the South.

The following table gives some of the principal items:

Items.	1889.	1880.
Number of passengers carried	20,567,472	3,766,538
Number of passengers carried one mile	655,064,774	173,000,247
Tons of freight moved	38,189,735	10,986,274
Tons of freight moved one mile	4,157,197,389	965,356,277
Earnings from passenger service	$20,024,232.84	$8,780,853.96
Earnings from freight service	$48,714,714.41	$23,289,609.10
Total earnings and income	$71,846,115.28	$32,721,623.84
Total expenditures	$69,526,909.88	$30,809,777.84
Length in miles of all lines operated	16,532.50	8,273.88
Total number of employees	58,991	25,123
Number of cars in passenger service	2,009	944
Number of cars in freight service	61,657	18,187
Number of locomotives	2,369	1,112
Number of stations on all lines	2,778	1,021
Receipts per mile per passenger (cents)	2.375	3.364
Receipts per mile per ton of freight (cents)	1.087	1.923

Of its leading staple, cotton, the South in 1891 produced 8,652,597 bales against 5,456,048 bales in 1881. Of those produced in 1891 604,661 were consumed by Southern mills, against 266,000 in 1881. Twenty years ago the cotton seed, of which there is a ton for every two bales of cotton, was almost a waste product. With cheap transportation millions of tons of this seed now go to oil mills from which the cake goes out as food for cattle, or to fertilizer factories as a source of ammonia. Recent statistics of this industry and also of the production and use of fertilizers are not at hand, but it is probable that in recent years no industry in the United States will show more rapid development. The Southern farmer is finding out the value of the "intensive system" of farming, which by high manuring produces more on a single acre than he formerly got from four. And the progress of the next decade in this direction promises to double that of the last, as the recent discoveries of enormous phosphate deposits in Florida will cheapen still further one of the principal raw materials.

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Although only discovered in 1890, these phosphate fields sent to market during 1891 about 200,000 tons of rock, one-half of it going to England and Germany. Within the next decade they will probably monopolize the market of the world, as Southern cotton is also likely to do with the low prices possible under improving conditions. Even now cotton is being exported from the South to Japan.

Of her tobacco, sugar, rice, naval stores, and pine and cypress lumber, the other leading products peculiar to her soil and climate, similar statistics could be given. But perhaps the most remarkable development in the industrial history of the United States has been that of the coal and iron ores of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama within even the past ten years. From being almost non-producers of coal and pig iron, these States have now reached an annual out-put of about 2,000,000 tons of pig iron and 20,000,000 of tons of coal. The proximity of coking coals and limestone to inexhaustible beds of iron ore of fine quality permits the production of iron under the most favorable conditions possible, and it is claimed that the future centre of the steel and iron industries of the continent will be along the valley between the Cumberland and Blue Ridge Ranges extending from Virginia through Tennessee into Alabama. Thus, in addition to the development of her own products, we see the South entering into competition with the North in manufactures, with conditions in her favor that must tell very powerfully as competition becomes closer. And in these days of wonderful progress in science and art, the latest comer has often no small advantage over his predecessors in starting with modern plants and the newest appliances.

Besides the larger industries, many smaller ones are constantly being developed by cheap and rapid transportation. Fish and oysters from the south Atlantic and Gulf States reach ever-increasing markets in the interior. Early fruits and vegetables are sent in enormous quantities as far north as Canada and the Lakes. Watermelons, unknown as an article of transportation ten years ago, now tax the capacity of many southern roads in their season, formerly the dullest of the year. Dried and canned fruits are shipped by the train-load, and the Florida orange is crossing the ocean to England after running the Mediterranean fruit off this continent in its season. But perhaps the best indication of the generally prosperous condition of the southern States is given in the assessed valuations of property for state taxation. The year 1891 for the most part was still under the shadow of the great Baring failure, but the increased assessments for the year

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in these States were more than $320,000,000. The total valuation of property was over $4,800,000,000 against $2,900,000,000 in 1880. These figures, taken in connection with what has been said before about the depth of poverty and desolation from which the South started twenty-five years ago, and the absence of aid from foreign immigration, amply demonstrate that the hardest part of her road has been passed over.

Starting with little but her natural resources of climate and soil, she has at last equipped herself with the next most essential requisite of progress, an efficient and well-developed system of railroads capable of furnishing cheap transportation to all of her products. She has also already accumulated a reasonable capital of her own and has, besides, well established her credit as an attractive field for investment, both in the financial centres of the North and to some extent in those of England and Germany. While her population has not increased as rapidly as that of States receiving foreign immigration, the ratio of natural increase has been remarkable.

The political animosities between the sections of the Union, and between the whites and the blacks, which delayed and disturbed progress for ten years after the war, have passed wholly away. Most of the southern States seceded and took part in the war, not because they originally wanted to secede, but because their right to secede if they wished was denied. They claimed this right as their dearest inheritance under the Constitution and fought for it to the bitter end, sacrificing their slave property in the struggle. Compensation for this was at one time offered if the right to secede were surrendered, but the offer was rejected. The course of events has demonstrated that this apparent loss was a real gain. The railroad, the steamboat, and the telegraph have made of this a different planet from the one on which our fathers lived a hundred years ago, and political and social institutions, like organic structures, must follow the laws of evolution and adapt themselves to changed conditions.

The future holds for the South two fast approaching changes which must exert powerful influences in her favor. The first will be due to her geographical position with reference to the other sections. Her railroads, heretofore occupied with transporting only the products of her own soil, will gradually become more and more highways for the products of the great West, seeking the market of the world. As yet they have scarcely participated at all in this movement, but the south Atlantic and Gulf coasts have many fine harbors

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which lie much nearer the great grain and meat producing districts than any of the north Atlantic ports. St. Louis, for instance, is 850 miles, air-line distance, from New York, 750 from Norfolk, 650 from Savannah, 575 from New Orleans, and 650 from Galveston. Everything west of a line drawn from Norfolk, via Cincinnati, to Chicago is nearer to the southern ports than to northern. In the future these distances will tell, the southern lines having the additional advantage of never being blocked by snow or ice. Already the exportation to Europe of western grain and meat products has begun through Norfolk, Galveston, and New Orleans, and it has been established that there is no climatic or commercial reason why the movement may not grow to any dimensions. For the month of November, 1891, the exports from southern ports exclusive of Baltimore amounted to $45,538,391 out of a total for the whole United States, including the Pacific coast, of $110,100,220. This is more than 41 per cent, although November was a very active month in the movement of grain and western products, from California and from northern ports.

It is plain, therefore, that the South has already made a good beginning. It is the first step that costs most, at least in time, and this has been taken. As to the trade with South America, and more especially with its western coast and the Spanish Main, the most of it must be monopolized by the Gulf ports. The passenger travel and the European mails will be brought to Tampa, and thence to New York by rail in thirty-six hours, and by the "ocean greyhounds" to Liverpool in five and a half days more. This route will anticipate by at least a week any direct European steamers from the Caribbean, and with the opening of the Nicaragua Canal will place the South immediately on one of the great highways of the world. The commerce of Europe and of South America will meet in the Gulf and south Atlantic ports, each stimulated by the presence of the other, and stimulating southern industrial and commercial activity. There will remain then but one further change in present conditions to remove the last drawback to the South's rate of progress. I have already referred to the fact that foreign immigration has heretofore passed the South entirely by, and that her population has had only its natural rate of increase. But this state of affairs, whether due to the lingering prejudices of former political differences, or to ignorance of the opportunities offered by its cheap and fertile lands and mild climate, cannot last long. If for no other reason, the arable lands east of the Rocky Mountains will soon be fully occupied, and then it will be

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discovered that a thousand miles nearer the markets of the world lies a vast territory, as fertile and as healthful as the very best of the western lands, with vastly more resources, and with all the conditions of life greatly easier.

It is a well-known fact that the interiors of all continents suffer far greater extremes of heat, cold, and drought than lands nearer the sea experience. The percentage of crops lost or injured by lack of rain or by early and late frosts increases rapidly as we leave the vicinity of the ocean, which is the great equalizer of temperatures. Hence far inland there are but few fruits and vegetables that can be profitably cultivated at all, and the production even of those is more uncertain than it is nearer the coast. The farmer's chances are therefore fewer and poorer even for his chief crops. In comfort and economy of living, too, the farmer in the far interior suffers even more, for the poor man's vegetables, such as peas, potatoes, melons, and the like, are less hardy than the field crops, and his garden cannot help out the farm as it does at the South. The risk and expense of wintering stock, too, are here reduced to a minimum. In the North-west an unexpected blizzard oftens wipes out the profit of years. Space does not permit reference to the winter economies and comforts in clothing and fuel, in farm-work and in social life at the South, but a suggestion of them may be found in the reason given for his moving, by a farmer who had migrated from Iowa to Louisiana. He said, "I moved because I got tired of getting up every morning and cutting ice out of the trough to water my horses." But while the winters of the South are so much less severe than those of the North-west, it is a mistake to suppose that the summers are hotter. They last longer but are less extreme. The hot waves of summer, like the cold waves of winter, come from the interior. Neither is the climate less salubrious than that of the northern States. By the census statistics the mortality among whites for the census year 1880 was 14.74 per 1,000 for the whole United States, including the South; and for the southern States alone from Maryland to Louisiana inclusive it was but 14.04 per 1,000. By the best of all demonstrations, therefore, the South is proving the salubrity of her climate, the fertility of her soil, the extent of her natural resources, and her fitness for the support of a large population. An empire in extent, her lands are still not one-half occupied. Her population per square mile averages about one-third that of the average northern State, and but one-fifth that of the more populous ones. The sole condition which now prevents a large immigra-

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tion, both from abroad and from the north-western States, from taking advantage of the opportunities open in the South, is ignorance of the situation. Such ignorance cannot be of long duration.

Briefly, there is not elsewhere upon the globe a territory open to the Anglo-Saxon race, with such varied and great resources and such propitious and easy conditions of life and labor, so abundantly supplied with rivers, harbors, and with lines of railroad transportation, or so well located to command the commerce of both hemispheres. The prophecy of what our people will make of these advantages in the struggle for commercial supremacy among the nations of the earth is but faintly written in what has already been done, under adverse conditions, by each section working alone. Now their united strength will be brought to bear on the easiest part of the problem. The most progressive race on earth—the leaders of the world in science, in invention, in wealth, in energy, and in enterprise—will here develop the greatest natural resources under the most favorable conditions possible.

E. P. ALEXANDER.

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THE STUDY OF ENGLISH.

In recent times the study of English has been vastly enlarged by the influx of new material and by increased facilities and appliances. We have a large number of new texts, improved editions, cheap reprints, handbooks of specimens, grammars both of the old and of the new language, glossaries of dialects, and comprehensive dictionaries. We are indeed well supplied, if we know how to use all these things; but in such a profusion of opportunities a new difficulty is apt to rise out of the very abundance. In the first burst of summer, when the meadows glow with flowers of every hue, bees may be seen darting from bloom to bloom, giddy with the boundless choice, and uncertain where to sip; but these are not the bees that make the honey. The honey-bee is calm in the midst of the dazzling banquet; he moves from one bright vase to another without hurry or uncertainty, and with all the balanced poise of celestial gravitation. The good things that are spread before the student of English are so numerous and so fascinating, that it is desirable for him to have some settled principles to determine his selection and to preserve him from wasting his strength in aimless and broken efforts.

When I had accepted the courteous invitation of the editor of the Forum to write something on the study of English, I thought the best way of getting a comprehensive view of the present tendencies of this study was to collect recent examination-papers on this subject in England, Scotland, and America; and I hereby tender my hearty thanks to several correspondents for their ready and obliging response to my appeal.

It will help our examination of the subject if we begin by taking a general survey of the ground. At the present moment the most obvious division of linguistic studies is that which divides them into the old and the new. For more than two thousand years the most general basis of intellectual education has been found in the study of grammar, which is a mental analysis of language, and leads up to the development of the literary faculties. This is what I call the "old division of the field of linguistic study."

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The new branch of this study is comparative philology, an acquisition of the present century. Its process for the study of any given language lies through a parallel anatomy of cognate languages. This branch of study, which for convenience I will briefly call "philology," seeks to penetrate into the physical structure and composition of words, and this breaks into two chief aims. The first of these aims is to make a list of roots for each speech-family; and the second aim, which has been suggested by the first, is to discover the laws of phonetics, that is, the relations between vocal language and the physical organs of speech.

1. Of these two, the old and the new, it is the new that is at present most in evidence and in the highest state of activity. It is to this that we are indebted for the large array of new material above spoken of. But its chief manifestation is to be seen in the modern effort of every leading nation to compass an etymological dictionary as complete as possible of its own national vocabulary. Jacob Grimm's monumental work, "Die Deutsche Grammatik," which gave us a comparative dissection of all the Teutonic dialects, drew after it as a natural corollary the undertaking of a vast etymological dictionary of the German language, the fulfilment of which is now committed to many hands. The French have been enabled, by the singular talent and rapidity of M. Littré, to outrun all other nations in this modern competition of dictionary-making. In England the ground has been occupied by Professor Skeat with a work which at any other time would have satisfied all requirements, but which at the present juncture seems only to create a larger appetite. Meanwhile Dr. Murray and Mr. Henry Bradley are gradually advancing with "The New English Dictionary," the mightiest offspring of this teeming lexicographical era. America had for many years (before the appearance of Skeat) taken the lead, in the matter of English dictionaries, with that well-known book which was founded by Dr. Webster, and etymologized by Dr. Mahn,—a book of which the "Quarterly Review" said very justly, "Certainly the best practical dictionary extant." This all-embracing and successful book has now been enlarged under the supervision of Dr. Noah Porter, and the new edition is issued with the title of "Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language." A more detailed and expansive labor is that of "The Century Dictionary," which is to be completed in six folio volumes under the editorship of Professor Whitney. This cyclopedic work seems intended to combine the most salient characteristics of Webster with those of the

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great dictionary that is issuing from the Clarendon Press at Oxford. All these vast undertakings are alike animated and spurred on by that universal and irresistible demand which has risen out of the new science of comparative philology.

In etymological studies the essential point of the inquiry is this: What did the men of old mean by such and such a name? What was it that they predicated when they so named this object or that action? When they made, for instance, the word "daughter," what did they mean to say about her? did they mean to call her milk-maid? That is the essential question of etymology now, and so it has been from the first. When Cicero surmised that *animus* ("soul") was from *anima* ("air"), he ascribed to the men of old the thought that there was a something in man for which the air, which is so vital and so invisible, furnished the aptest emblem. In respect of its main intention the view of etymology is what it always was, and it has suffered no change. Comparative philology has not altered the aim of etymology, but it has led us to a securer method of attaining that aim. Grimm's law has furnished the basis of that scientific method which we call "phonetics." By phonetics we understand a subsidiary method which enables us to match the material equivalents, the physically corresponding equivalents, among related dialects. If we would know our way about in the study of English, we must rightly apprehend the function of phonetics. Let it, then, be well understood that this is a subsidiary and instrumental study, and that it is wholly concerned with the external or bodily part of language. Etymology has a mental aim, but it is concerned with physical problems, and it employs a physical instrumentality in dealing with them. This pursuit leads us farther and farther from that which is inward and of prime educational value. Some primary elements of phonetics are good in education; but all beyond this belongs to the specialist. When we get beyond Grimm's law; when we are driven to supplement it with the more recondite observations of Verner's law; when we attain to speculate about roots; when we proceed to investigate the muscular adjustments by which the vowels and consonants are vocally produced,—we are no longer in the realm of common human interests: the popular charm of etymology has fled. The bulk of educated men can never have more than the most general ideas about these matters, such general ideas as they are fain to be contented with about chemistry, meteorology, or spectrum analysis.

2. On the other side is the mental analysis, which is mainly repre-

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sented by the doctrine of the parts of speech. This is in fact grammar in the old-fashioned sense of the term. It was grammar in this sense that furnished their specific title to those schools which sprang up numerously in England after the revival of classical learning, and caused them to be called "grammar-schools." During the last four centuries, grammar has been learned through the medium of Latin and Greek in the upper educational ranks, while it has been learned through the medium of English only in the lower half of the educational world. The existence of English grammar has hardly been known except in schools below the grammar-school level, such as commercial and elementary schools, to which might be added (until quite lately) the girls' schools of every grade; and, as a consequence, English grammar has been but feebly cultivated. Upon Latin grammar there has been some expenditure of talent; but as for the English grammars they have been mostly faint reflections of the Latin grammar. With the exception of Robert Lowth,[1] I know of no eminent scholar who has given the subject any serious attention. The only name worthy to be graced with the title of "English grammarian" is that of Dr. Lindley Murray, and he was an American.

Grammar is not, however, the peculiar property of any language or group of languages. It is pyschological, and therefore universal in its nature. It is a study which, though conducted through the medium of language, addresses itself to phenomena of mind; its principles do not depend upon language except in their manifestation; it is (if I may so speak) prior to language; and it governs not only the study, but the very genesis, of language itself.

Grammar is the study of language in its true nature; and hence it comes to pass that the aim of grammar is coincident with the purpose of language: it is in the same line and direction with the proper use of language. The business of language is to predicate. In this one word the whole matter may be summed up: the use of language is to predicate, that is, to say something of some subject. In the view of grammar every word is valued by its relation to the act of predication and its share in that act: upon this one principle it gathers all words into a small group of categories, and these categories are the parts of speech.

It is only necessary to state these obvious facts in order to clear the essential distinction between grammar and philology. Grammar,

[1] A Short Introduction to English Grammar, 1762.

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then, is the analysis of mental action in the use of language: philology is the analysis of the composition of words with reference to those physical organs whereby speech is rendered vocal. By grammar, language is laid alongside of the mind: by philology it is laid alongside of the larynx. The outcome of grammar is the doctrine of the parts of speech: the outcome of philology is the physical structure of words, the precision of etymology, and the doctrine of roots.

3. Now comes the question, Which of these two is the more available as an educational medium,—grammar, or philology? It is not a question of accepting the one and excluding the other, for no doubt both of them have their own educational utility. We only seek a clear understanding upon a matter of great practical importance. It has, in fact, become necessary to ask whether there is any reason to give one side of English study a priority over the other, or whether it is a matter of perfect indifference in what order, or in what proportion, we apply them severally in the educational curriculum.

Dean Hook in his "Life of Tatwine," who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 731 to 734, had occasion to notice the fruits of that system of education which had been instituted by Hadrian, the companion of Archbishop Theodore. Entering upon this theme, he made a passing observation: "For the exercise of the mind, nothing has been found comparable to the study of the philosophy of grammar, except the mathematics." I have not quoted these words for their singularity, but for an opposite reason; namely, because they formulate what I take to be the prevalent opinion of the whole period since education was first made a matter of earnest inquiry and investigation. This old notion has governed the course of literary education for centuries, and, new lights or new experiments notwithstanding, I think it must in the main continue to govern it, because I believe it to be founded in natural truth.

In fact, grammar is the natural focus and centre of all philological study, and it is easy to see that this must necessarily be so. For as the spring of all language is predication, and as with the progress of development the act of predication becomes highly complex and elaborate, some habit of analysis is requisite if the mind is to keep pace with its own creations. Grammar is the psychological analysis of predication. We are too prone to hold elementary grammar cheap, merely because it is elementary, and because it is supposed to be common knowledge; but it is in reality the first condition of our bringing a scientific mind to bear upon the phenomena of language. Whatever

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we learn by comparative philology goes but to constitute a periphery which revolves, or ought to revolve, round this central "hub" of linguistic science. When we have found out a new etymology, what is it but a new instance of the recovery of an old and forgotten predication? When, for example, we learn that "umpire" has dropped an initial *n*, and that the word represents *non-par* ("odd, single"), we find that the fact of his standing between two discordant parties as a single arbitrator was the predication of which this functionary was the subject.

There is a notion abroad that philology is superior to grammar, that it is in a commanding position over grammar, and that it has a natural right to supervise the arrangements and terminology of grammar. The consequence has been, that of late years almost every author who has come forward as a grammarian has done so more or less in the guise of a philologist, as if this character invested him with higher authority, and gave him power to innovate upon the time-honored institutes of grammar. By this avenue some confused and hybrid doctrines have found their way into current school-books. I have seen questions about "prepositional" adverbs, which tend to create a suspicion that a confusion may have crept into the system of teaching concerning the mutual relations of prepositions and adverbs.

Such, again, is the notion that it is an improvement to do away with the definite article, and call it an adjective. About this innovation there is a show of superior philosophy which has proved only too attractive. A few years ago I heard a grammar-lesson given to the senior class of boys in one of the largest and best of our elementary schools. It was a sort of show lesson given by previous appointment, and the lesson was conducted by the head-master. He was a man of great ability as a teacher, and his power of drawing knowledge and of keeping the attention of a large circle of boys was admirable. The instruction was sound in every particular but one, and that was (curiously) in the very point upon which he, and the boys too, especially prided themselves. I was so much struck with this incident that I managed before the day was out to commit it to writing. The master, questioning the boys, began with: Q.—How many classes or sorts of words are there? A.—Eight. Q.—How many were there made formerly? A.—Nine. Q.—What class of word is now given up? A.—The article. Q.—What do we now call the article? A.—The distinguishing adjective. Q.—What other sorts of adjectives are there besides the distinguishing adjective? A.—Qualifying adjec-

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tives. Q.—Is there any article which is not a distinguishing adjective? A.—Yes, the article *a* or *an*.

I have more than once heard this "distinguishing adjective" made the subject of discussion, and I have been astonished to find how easily its supporters have been able to content themselves with their defence of it. They have one reason, and one only; namely, that it is true. Now I will not deny that it is true, because, although I do not see how it is even true, yet it is not worth while to deny it; for it is no justification of a technical term to say it is true. Many predicates may be true of the same subject, and yet they would not all be equally appropriate for a technical designation of that subject. Suppose, now, on some public occasion, when a great functionary was present in robes of office or robes of state, a speaker should indicate him as that "decorated individual," would the general indignation be allayed by his urging that this description was literally true? Would such a plea be listened to, or would it save such an orator from the penalty of quick and ignominious expulsion? So, then, it is not worth while discussing whether "distinguishing adjective" truly describes the definite article or not. What its supporters have to show is, that it is more appropriate than the old technical term which they pretend to displace.

A clear apprehension of the relations that subsist between the old grammar and the new philology is the best guaranty against confusion of this kind. Our recent English grammars, those that have come up since philology was fashionable, are rarely free from it. The two diverse elements—mental analysis of the parts of speech, and physical analysis of etymology—are confusedly intermingled. I overheard some school-girls comparing their achievements in answering the questions that are commonly set at the end of the school-term, and one asked whether any of them had given the derivation of "every," "such," "else." I joined the conversation, and inquired which of their school-books it might be that furnished them with such recondite information. It was Morris's "English Grammar," a book which I already knew as more distinguished by its form-lore and etymologies than by soundness in the solid foundations of grammar. This book has probably done more than any other to diffuse the "improvement" whereby the article is excluded from the parts of speech, and the definite article is called an "adjective." In this book, "grammar" properly so called—that "grammar" which is the best educational medium—is distracted by a quantity of interspersed philological infor-

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mation, which is indeed good of its kind, and neatly conveyed, only here it is out of place. This manual is a type of the disturbance which the new knowledge has caused, and it well represents the transition state that must intervene before the relation of the old to the new is definitively ascertained. I may, however, add, that in printing the philological matter in a smaller type the author upholds the principle for which I am contending, and witnesses to the educational priority of grammar.

Comparative philology has no power to introduce improvement in grammatical ideas, because these rest on a psychological basis, while philology has to do with the material side of language. It is only too easy for the philologer to fall into the error of the Emperor Sigismund, and deem himself to be superior to grammar, that subject of juvenile study. There is no one but is the better for a well-trained grammatical habit of mind: it is this habit which cultivates language as an instrument of thought, which facilitates lucidity in diction, and prompts the most harmonious and interpretative tones in reading aloud. The parts of speech are not exhausted when they have been learned once for all; they are not fixed and rigid; they are full of the elasticity and variability of life; they have their transitions, graduations, refinements. Take the familiar little words "they," "their," "them." These were demonstratives before they were personal pronouns, and, when they became personal pronouns, they did not forfeit the right to be demonstratives. Does this seem pedantic, dry, and uninteresting? Unfortunately it is apt to be so voted, and one of the consequences is, that we never can be sure we shall hear these words rightly delivered. Familiar and beautiful sentences are too often marred from this cause. "We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou diddest in their days, and in the old time before them." The right reading of this versicle turns upon the delivery of "their" and "them," and that right delivery will be insured by the knowledge that they are demonstratives. It is not so well known as it deserves to be, that the secret of good reading lies not so much in the correct pronunciation of the big words as in the appropriate intonation of the little ones.

From the advantages of grammatical culture, let us turn and consider the disadvantages of its neglect. Philologers who deem that the key to sound philological thought is to be found in phonetics and form-lore are apt to go wofully astray when they attempt to criticise or to reason. I know this to my cost. I have been scolded in more

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than one literary journal because I (so it is alleged) have attributed to the modern English language an imaginary feature, which I have called the "flexional infinitive." This allegation would never have taken place if grammatical culture had been as general and as thorough as it is assumed to be. It is quite true that I have asserted and do assert the existence of a flexional infinitive in modern English. And I have done more than this: I have demonstrated it by the only possible means of demonstration, namely, by a large variety of examples and illustrations. *Inter alia* I quoted Pope's line,—

"Nature's chief masterpiece is writing well,"

and I said that here the word "writing" is a verb in the infinitive mood. This statement of mine has been saluted with a sonorous and gorgeous avalanche of invective: it has been signalized as confusion, heresy, moonshine, and the "hunting of the snark." But what is the actual state of the case?

The flexional infinitive is a fact of simple perception to every mind that is duly exercised in grammatical discernment. In the above instance the word "writing" cannot otherwise be reasonably thought of than as an infinitive mood; and this ought to need no argument, just because it is capable of none, inasmuch as it is self-evident. I will add another example. Dean Stanley, in a letter to Bishop Fraser on the occasion of his addressing actors in a Manchester theatre, said, "You appear to me to possess the singular gift of going to the very verge of imprudence, and yet never crossing it." There I maintain that "going" and "crossing" are infinitives; and I say, that, if any one denies it, he must either be laboring under crudeness of thought, or else he must be doing violence to his understanding. This is a matter, that, as I have said, does not admit of argument; but it does admit of testimony: and I am glad to be able to appeal to a spontaneous and competent witness. Professor James M. Garnett of the University of Virginia, reviewing my "English Prose" in "The American Journal of Philology," said, "Here we may thank the author for emphasizing the distinction between the verbal noun and the flexional infinitive in *-ing*, a distinction often overlooked by grammarians; and he would have done well to caution the reader against the more elementary blunder—not, however, unknown to teachers of English—of confounding the participle in *-ing* with either of the above-mentioned forms."

In considering the study of English, I have taken it for granted

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that the first place is due to its educational aspect, and that, if this is well ascertained, the course of scientific inquiry may be left to take care of itself. It is important to realize the broad difference between educational value and scientific value. Educational value is measured by its usefulness in opening the mind of the learner; but scientific value is independent of the measure of usefulness in every sense. The pursuit of phonetics is justified, as every scientific pursuit is justified, by the extension of knowledge, without any plea of utility.

But although the study of phonetics is primarily scientific, although it is not undertaken for its usefulness, it will be found, if followed in the right time and order, to be fruitful not only by increase of knowledge, but also by great practical advantages in the command of language. The mind that is exercised in phonetic etymology will grow to be in touch with the vocabulary, will acquire a ready command of its resources, and thus one of the most difficult of an author's attainments will be rendered easy and even amusing. After all, the highest aim of linguistic studies is the perfecting of language as an instrument,—an instrument not of expression only, but also of thought. All men cannot be high artists in literature, like Addison, or Johnson, or Macaulay. Such excellence is not attained without a rich original gift of nature. But it is within the reasonable aspiration of ordinarily gifted men to desire to make the best of their powers of thought and utterance, and it is not generally understood how much may be attained by habitual pleasure in the study of English.

J. Earle.

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THE INTERCONTINENTAL RAILROAD PROBLEM.

THE greatest railroad project since the building of the Union Pacific is that which contemplates the union of the three Americas—a Pan-American railway. If constructed it will secure to the United States the commercial supremacy of the world; but the sums required for this mighty engineering work would be so vast that financiers inquire how, and upon what terms, the funds could be obtained. The method of development which has prevailed in South America, and which has operated so far that only 2,900 miles in such a line remain unoccupied by existing roads and concessions, may give the answer.

Thirty years ago there was not a single mile of railroad in the whole of South America; to-day there are fifteen thousand miles in operation. Eliminating Brazil, whose railroad problem has never been attacked in clear comprehension of her ultimate necessities, the development of highways in South America is seen to follow with striking precision the important commercial axes of the continent. The proportion of mileage constituting trunk lines is extremely large compared with that comprised in "feeders." Moreover, these trunk lines have in all cases proved financially successful. This is true also in Brazil, where the Central Railroad, connecting the São Paulo and the Minas Geraes systems with Rio de Janeiro, has in some years yielded a net income of nearly $4,000,000. The record of the past two years is no criterion of the importance of these roads, the reduction of income on the Central Railroad being due to reckless management, and the deficiencies in Argentine resulting partly from a diminution of traffic, and quite as much from the depreciation of the national currency, which difficulty the railroads were not empowered to meet by an increase of tariffs. In addition to the trunk lines a few short detached roads which were urgently needed to facilitate an existing and growing trade have been correspondingly profitable, but in general the policy which has been so common in South America of building roads a few miles into the interior to serve as local "feeders" for separate ports, has ended in imposing heavy burdens upon the state which had guaranteed interest upon the capital involved. A reaction

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against government guaranties upon railroad investments is justly becoming strong in many of the South American republics, and the complete abandonment of this form of subvention, with the substitution of land grants and other privileges in lieu of it, will not only relieve the national treasuries, but will infuse greater spirit and energy into railroad management, giving an added stimulus to commerce which the railroad corporations will then take care to foster.

No single continental belt of trade exists in South America, owing to the great diversity of climate and the difficulty of penetrating the vast interior tropical wilderness; but there are, nevertheless, two quite well-defined commercial axes, one extending approximately east and west through the temperate southern regions, and the other north and south through the populous western coast. The Argentine trunk lines coincide with the former, and the Chilian with the latter, while the necessity of a continuance of the west-coast system has led to projects for the further paralleling of the sea-board in Chili, and for the building of roads southward from Lima to the Chilian frontier, both of which will doubtless be accomplished within a decade. A noticeable feature within the past few years is the tendency to strike a truer axis, which, as a sort of mean between the others and the adjoining belt of Bolivian trade, shall enjoy more fully the advantages, present and future, of a trunk line serving a varied and extensive commerce. The railroad from Antofagasta, Chili, to the famous mining region of Huanchaca, Bolivia, has already done excellent service, and has stimulated the proposed extension of the Argentine system from Jujuy to this point. The construction of another road from the same plateau to connect at Puno, on Lake Titicaca, with the Peruvian line to Mollendo, on the Pacific, is being so persistently agitated, and is so undeniable a necessity, that it must speedily be carried to consummation. Thus would be established a route from the Pacific to the Atlantic, having a general south-east and north-west direction, through some of the richest districts of South America, with widely different products along the several portions of its course, which will inevitably swell the traffic to large proportions. Bolivian statistics are not easy of access, but some notion of the commerce already existing may be gained from the circumstance that Bolivian exportations to Argentine alone amounted to $77,813 in 1890, and her importations from that country in the same year reached a value of $270,000, which figures do not include foreign goods touching Argentine in transit. Her commerce through Peru, all of which crosses Lake Titicaca, paid

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in freight to the lake steamers, during the past twelve months, nearly $130,000. This represents only a portion of the traffic.

It must be observed that speculative and whimsical considerations have in no instance been instrumental in creating railroad systems in South America, but that these have been called into existence in response to the needs of a commerce previously developed into considerable magnitude. In Argentine two distinct centres of trade and civilization, one in the west and north-west, the other along the Atlantic sea-board, required convenient communication, for political as well as commercial reasons. There has also always been trade with Chili, in spite of the obstructing Andes. In 1890 this exchange of commodities reached a total value of $2,039,000. The single Brazilian system was demanded by extensive coffee and mining interests. The Chilian roads served as outlets for agricultural and mining regions; and the principal Peruvian lines were intended to open up the mines and agricultural lands of the central and eastern districts, as well as to attract the commerce of Bolivia.

Pioneer roads, built for the sake of creating new centres of industry, have formed no part of the South American railroad programme, and it is doubtful whether such a plan would meet with any success for many years to come. This is not denying the possibility of success, for a wise colonization scheme, supported by sufficient capital, could accomplish it, but colonization enterprises have hitherto been peculiarly unfortunate in the Latin republics, and railroads have not produced effects in these countries analogous to those in the North. In fact the commercial side of a railroad problem in South America involves considerations which would not logically occur to a northern financier, accustomed as he is to the rush for new lands, to the springing up of cities, and to the rapid expansion of trade, upon the inauguration of a new line. South American life is not keyed to so high a pitch as ours of the North. Moreover, the legitimate effect of the railroads has been rendered nugatory to a large extent by the apathy of the foreign shareholders, who cared less than they ought about encouraging enterprises that should enhance the traffic on their lines, so long as the governments made prompt remittances to London of the accrued interest upon their invested capital. At the same time it is true that prospective business must be estimated upon a different basis than in Anglo-Saxon countries, and the actual needs of an immediate commerce must determine the railroad development of the Latin continent. A study of these exigencies then

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ought to demonstrate what hope there is for the realization of an intercontinental railroad.

There is probably no agricultural product in the world which will not find a soil and climate congenial to its growth in South America. Every species of useful mineral is also found abundantly, and widely disseminated over the continent. Likewise unlimited water power is awaiting the manufacturer in every one of the southern republics. With the extension of routes of inter-communication between these states their commercial independence with regard to many important staples will follow as a natural consequence. The first steps in this direction will be an exchange of the cereals, potatoes, legumes, and other vegetables of the South, and of the Andean plateaus and valleys, for the rice, sugar, coffee, cocoa, and other products of the strictly tropical regions. The completion of a system of roads from the Argentine Republic across Bolivia into Peru will mark the beginning of a new era, when inter-state trade will begin to prove a factor of large value in South American affairs. The famous Lima and Oroya Railway, soon to be in operation across the Andes, will inaugurate days of plenty and prosperity for Peru by admitting the varied agricultural productions of the fertile *Montaña* to the starving western coast. Wisdom of a certain sort lay in that proposition of a French company to construct a road from Bogotá, in the central plateau of Colombia, across to Venezuela. The idea may have been premature, but it was conceived in a clear prescience of the needs of the future. Neither can it be denied that a railroad connecting the central plateau of Ecuador with Colombia and the Caribbean Sea by way of Popayán and the Rio Cauca, developing the immense dormant resources of this chain of interior valleys, will prove of great importance. On the route are deposits of coal and iron, and world-famous mines of gold and silver; the climate presents every gradation from the steamy tropics of the north coast to the temperate airs of the high plateaus; the fruits and grains of every zone are produced; sheep are grown in the elevated lands, and cotton flourishes in the middle portion; while the splendid water power of the Rio Cauca could serve a manufacturing industry as large as that of Massachusetts.

A railroad is already being built by an American from Buenaventura into the Cauca Valley, with Popayán as its ultimate objective point, so that this plan of development can scarcely be considered as a visionary dream to be realized only in some now nebulous future. Indeed the whole scheme of modern transportation facilities through-

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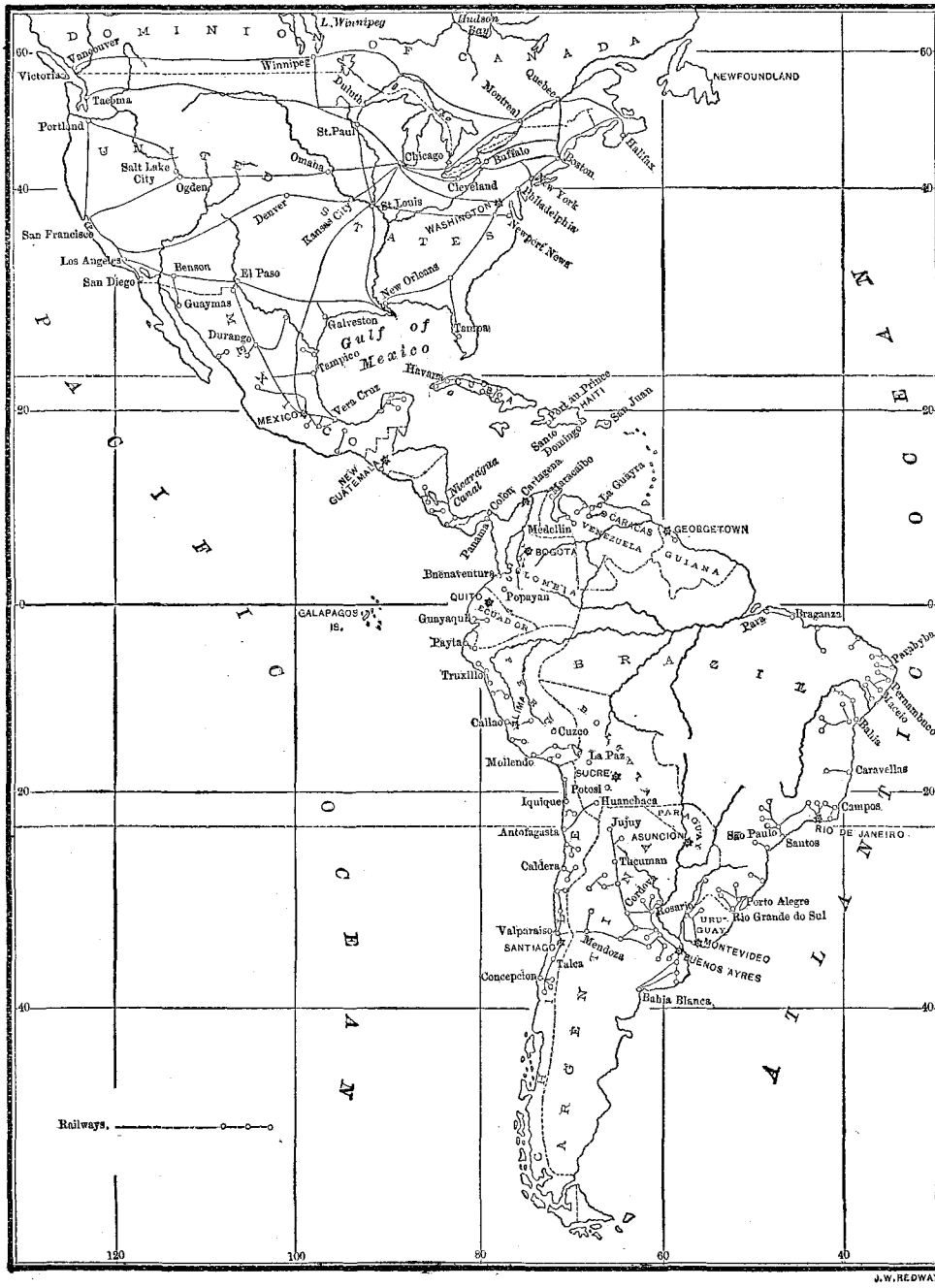

J.W. REDWAY

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out the north-western portion of South America may be projected in conformity with the indications of an existing traffic, which seems to be the only safe method to pursue in the southern continent. The proof of this is found in an examination of the local trade of Colombia, which country in the year 1889 imported from Ecuador no less than $114,000, and exported $55,000. We must bear in mind that every pound of the merchandise which these sums represent was laboriously transported hundreds of miles on mule-back over wretched roads in the Andes. Some of it came by sea, but this was only from port to port, and the inevitable mule journey must be made to bring it to its final market in the interior towns. The governments interested, recognizing their opportunity to swell the traffic, and thus hasten the construction of railroads, have just arranged a treaty whereby goods *crossing the frontier* between Colombia and Ecuador shall in future be exempt from customs restrictions. There must surely be a powerful demand to encourage such a commerce under such tremendous difficulties. Even after witnessing this phenomenon we are hardly prepared to expect an interchange of commodities between Colombia and Peru, and yet the official figures for 1889 show a movement toward Peru of products to the value of $5,636, and Colombian importations from Peru of $24,663. In each case this commerce is independent of that from Colon and Panama. Turning to Venezuela we find that she took Colombian products in 1889 to the amount of $70,162, and returned to Colombia $16,540. Here again the same difficulties of transportation might naturally be expected to place an absolute embargo upon commercial intercourse. Evidence favoring rail communication northward into Central America is afforded by the total commerce of Colombia, exclusive of the Isthmus, with Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Mexico, which amounts to $150,000 *per annum*. She also has a trade with the West Indies of over $600,000, which will benefit railroads into the interior—the goal of all Colombian business. Venezuelan commerce likewise presents some curious features. While enjoying a large, steady trade with the Islands, she makes occasional spasmodic movements toward dealings with her sister republics, such as a ten-thousand-dollar trade with Mexico in 1886, continuing fairly well into 1888; an eight-hundred-dollar exchange with Ecuador in 1887, small, but noteworthy; and, singularly enough, an importation of $11,000 from Uruguay in 1886. While of little intrinsic value, these serve as an index to a tendency which might produce important results under more favorable conditions.

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Colombia, however, remains the pivotal state, upon whose development depends the fate of rail communication between the three Americas. She is only in her commercial infancy, but she is destined to a commanding importance in the future. Her trade has swelled from an aggregate of $19,000,000 in 1885 to $26,000,000 in 1890, in spite of mules and bad roads. Railroads are building in many parts, and the gaps between them must inevitably be filled in, forming systems extending into the South, and terminating at some point on the Caribbean Sea. Cartagena would seem to be marked out by nature for this distinction, having a splendid harbor, being near the Magdalena River, which is at present the great highway into the heart of Colombia, and possessing what is of foremost importance—a salubrious climate. Here is the natural northern terminus of any great system of South American railroads, and here would necessarily arise a great distributing centre—the South American metropolis.

This of course is allowing that the great gap between Quito and the Peruvian roads will be closed up. It may seem unlikely to happen soon, and the opening of the Nicaragua Canal will most likely retard it for some years. On the other hand the government of Ecuador has granted a concession for a road from Machala, on the Pacific, to Cuenca, in the interior, which point is not far from Quito. The report of the United States surveying party, now in the field, will reveal the conditions to be met in going south from Cuenca into the valley of the Upper Amazon, or Marañon. The distance at least is not great. Another 150 miles eastward will serve to reach the head of navigation on the Amazon, at the site of ancient Borja, where the river escapes from the mountain regions through the gorge known as the Pongo de Manseriche. Vessels of five feet draught can reach this point, and singular as it may seem, the products of Eastern Peru, by coming to the Pongo, and thence northward by rail to Cartagena, could reach New York by a journey nearly 2,000 miles shorter than by way of Pará, Brazil. The charter of the Payta-Piura road in Peru provides for its extension to Borja—a route not only feasible, but comparatively easy—and the Peruvian Corporation has recognized the desirability of rail connection from Trujillo, *via* Cajamarca, to Chachapoyas, which will doubtless be undertaken after the Lima and Oroya Railway is finished. This all means that there is an important central region of northern Peru which must ere long be penetrated by railroads, and when this is done the most embarrassing part of the South American trunk line problem will have been solved. The

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connection to Lima, and southward, completing the chain, is simply another of the necessities of the future, to be delayed only until the volume of Peruvian business shall encourage a coast-line railroad.

Questions of engineering difficulty may to a considerable extent be ignored. It would certainly be foolish to attempt a line at present across any portion of the valley of the Amazon east of the Andes, and there may be elevated passes in the mountains which will oppose progress for many years to come; but in spite of this it may be averred that the demands of commerce will compel the most stupendous engineering undertakings. We have seen a goodly traffic creeping slowly along the edge of Andean precipices, pushing through deep defiles, risking dangerous crossings of swollen torrents, and we know that the people of Colombia and Ecuador are eager for the disestablishment of the slow-going mule. In this era of rapid transportation, when the railroad is as necessary to a nation as a revenue is to its government, we may be sure that steel bands will soon bind the Americas together. But an important question arises, May we expect any large amount of through traffic north from Cartagena to prefer carriage by rail rather than by sea?

It is certain that no railroad can ever reduce its freights lower than those now charged between Cartagena and New York, which average about fifty-three cents per hundred pounds. The distance by sea between these two cities is not over 2,100 miles, while the shortest practicable distance by land is about 4,000. There are American ships now in the southern trade which can without difficulty make the voyage in six days, and whenever there is warrant for it the time can be reduced to four days. Rail communication, however, possesses certain conspicuous advantages over steamship connection. Besides being more regular, it carries with it the telegraph, bringing the daily market reports cheaply to the door of the producer and the initial merchant or broker, in the very heart of the country; it links together, not two or three points merely, but a whole chain of cities and towns; and business is accelerated throughout its entire length, the stimulus at any one place reacting directly or indirectly upon every other along the route. Furthermore, railroad development parallel with competitory water routes invariably builds up an enormous new traffic to the benefit of both. This is strikingly shown in the commerce on our own Great Lakes, where the ton mileage for 1889 amounted to 22.6 per cent of the total railroad ton mileage of the entire United States. Also the Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Rail-

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way, which is built on the very banks of the Mississippi from New Orleans to Memphis, successfully competes with river transportation in carrying cotton both to New Orleans and to northern markets, and has continued to make money, even through the financial crisis of 1884 when many other railroads succumbed.

The discrepancy in distance between the two routes to South America grows less as we recede from the Atlantic coast, being in round numbers 3,000 miles from Chicago to Cartagena *via* New York, against 3,200 miles *via* Mexico; 3,200 miles from St. Louis *via* New York, and 2,900 miles *via* Newport News, against 3,000 miles *via* Mexico; and 3,450 miles from Kansas City *via* New York, and 3,166 miles *via* Newport News, against 3,100 miles *via* Mexico. At Kansas City, two degrees east of the centre of the United States, and twelve degrees west of the entire continent of South America, the distance is equalized, from which it would appear that for the whole central portion of the United States, which also draws its quota of supplies from Latin America, and produces goods salable there, an all-rail route would possess a very distinct advantage, both in regard to speed, and to freedom from the cost and losses incident to frequent transshipments. In addition to this, many of our exportations to South America might be saved the necessity of the expensive special packing required when sent by sea, which would often make up the difference in freight charges, even from points along the Atlantic coast.

The cheaper telegraphic facilities, improved postal service, and ease of specie remittances to all southern points, which will accrue from railroad union of the hemisphere of republics, will materially hasten the day when New York will become the financial centre and clearing house of the world. American influence will flow along such a chain of railroads and its branches as the waters of a river follow its channel and spread into every inlet and cove along its margin. The result will be a commercial conquest of South America which we could never otherwise effect, for without this aid to our supremacy we should be merely upon an equal footing with every other nation which runs fast ships and sends agents to sell to the people of the South.

We must not fail, however, to regard the limits of usefulness which such a road can have. The traffic which will naturally follow the lower trans-continental axis of commerce in South America will probably never constitute any considerable portion of that which will be carried along the upper extension of the Andean axis. North America takes only about five per cent of the total exports of Argen-

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tine, and while the absolute volume of trade may increase, the percentage will remain nearly stationary so long as we are destitute of a merchant marine. The opening of communication between that country and the republics of Chili, Bolivia, and Peru will further tend to produce this effect. Brazil will constitute a still more important market for Argentine productions. Increasing European trade with Buenos Ayres will, judging from present appearances, render this city a permanent metropolis, controlling the foreign commerce of Argentine, and of the great valley of the Paraguay. Rio de Janeiro is susceptible of immense progress by the extension of trunk lines into the interior of the continent, but she would seem destined to remain in much the same relation to Buenos Ayres as Boston is to New York, for very similar reasons, and southern and eastern Brazil in its foreign trade relations will possess little unity of interests with those countries which would use a system of roads leading to a Caribbean port.

It appears indubitable that whoever holds commercial supremacy, and control of routes of transportation in Colombia and Ecuador, will be master of the situation in South America from Chili and Bolivia as far as the Caribbean Sea. In consideration of the ultimate gain to us, every railroad project in the line of the Andean axis in South America deserves to have its merits examined, and deserves encouragement if there be local traffic enough to support it until it shall perform its larger functions as part of a grand trunk line. We must remember that the Americans have demonstrated their ability to construct roads, such as will be required here, more cheaply than any other people in the world. Whereas the English railways in South America have cost from $33,000 to $54,000 a mile, the great and difficult Southern Railway of Peru, built by an American, cost only $18,000 a mile. If the railroads of Colombia and Ecuador are constructed by our engineers they will require less traffic for their maintenance, and can be the sooner built. The future purpose of such lines as part of an intercontinental system will be subserved by securing in each case provisions for perpetual neutrality, in accordance with a wise recommendation of the Intercontinental Railway Commission. Progressing in this manner the Pan-American Railroad will come quietly as a natural growth. Hardly realizing how it came we shall have it, shall fall easily into the use of it, and our trade and finance will command resources through its agency which, combined with our native riches, will render America supreme in the money markets of the world.

COURTENAY DE KALB.

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THE WORK OF THE BRITISH SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

In the following brief history of an association which has united nearly all the leading authors of England and a great number of the less known, I beg, at the outset, most clearly and unmistakably, to disclaim any intention whatever to speak of, or to refer to, the relations which obtain in the United States between publisher and author, for I believe that the conditions of literary property and its management are by no means the same in the two countries. I have had no opportunities of studying those conditions; therefore any remarks which I might offer upon them would be at once meddlesome and worthless. My connection with our own Society of Authors, however, has given me, and all those actively connected with its management, an insight into the whole subject of literary property as it now exists, as it is acquired, and as it is managed in our country, which at least affords me the right to speak upon the subject, while my official position in the society as chairman of its executive committee further makes it my duty to explain, whenever called upon to do so, why we are organized, how we act and what we propose. It is very well known that the prevailing attitude of English authors towards publishers has long been, rightly or wrongly, one of suspicion and jealousy. The epigrams on publishers have been multitudinous. If ridicule and venom could kill, the publishers would have been killed. But epigrams, especially when shot against men of business, do not kill; they do not always sting. In this case epigrams have never even provoked reply.

In the year 1843, a time when the English men of letters were in very evil plight, and when it seemed as if, with the exception of two or three at the top, they had no hope except to become mere hacks to the man with money, an attempt was made to found a society of British authors for the purpose of defence and protection. Thomas Campbell, Dickens, Carlyle, Lytton, Thackeray, Captain Marryatt, Augustus De Morgan, Harriet Martineau, and a great many others joined it. They started with about a hundred members. I have in my possession the original documents and many autograph letters

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written by the founders. It is noticeable that the most practical letter on the subject—the only practical letter—was written by Harriet Martineau. Unfortunately, the thing fell into feeble hands. The secretary, or the committee, drew up certain vague resolutions which left untouched the main point. They talked timidly of registering, establishing foreign correspondence, reading papers, and so forth, when they ought to have gone straight to the methods of publishing. The futility of their resolutions shows that the promoters either did not know what was wanted or were afraid to put it forward. The latter, I take it, was the real reason, because Dickens and, with him, all the strong men withdrew from the society, and in a year it expired, having attempted nothing and effected nothing, and left nothing except this little bundle of letters now in my possession.

There was already in existence—and there still exists—a Royal Society of Literature, to which George the Fourth used to make an annual grant of 1,100 guineas. His successors discontinued the grant. The members of this society meet occasionally to hear papers read on various subjects, but it has long ceased to attract men of letters, and may be entirely neglected as a force or factor in the profession of letters. There are two other institutions for the assistance of authors. The first is the Royal Literary Fund, which makes grants to writers in distress. The second is the Civil Pension List, which consists of an annual grant of £1,200 to be bestowed in pensions for the encouragement of literature, science, and art. The First Lord of the Treasury has the bestowal of these pensions. He generally gives a large part of them to widows and daughters of men totally unconnected with either literature, science, or art—civil servants, soldiers, or sailors. The thing is a scandal, but as only men of letters, science and art are concerned, and no votes are to be gained by stirring in the matter, nothing is ever done.

It is now nearly eight years since a small body of men, fifteen or twenty in number, met to discuss the question whether anything might be done by union to remedy abuses which were strongly felt, but had never been formulated, proved, or defined. This was the origin of our society, which now numbers 750 members, and is every year increasing in strength, in reputation, and in the clearness of its aims.

It must be acknowledged that at first these aims were almost as vague as those of the former society. There was blind indignation, there was smouldering fire, among the great body of the literary craft;

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but when one came to examine into the facts, so far as they had been ascertained, there was little but suspicion to go upon. We therefore set ourselves at once to the acquisition and accumulation of the facts as connected with the practical business of managing literary property. We speedily discovered enough to enable us to take a first definite step, and at a public meeting held at Willis' Rooms we claimed the right of the author, as one party in a joint venture or partnership, to examine and audit the accounts furnished by the other contracting party. A modest step, apparently; in reality, a most important step, a step which leads to everything else. Because, when two men are engaged in the same venture, if one of the two is excluded from the sight of the books, that one occupies an inferior position; he is a dependent, he is like the man who humbly brings to his master the produce of his own labor and goes away making his salaam for any pieces of silver which may be tossed him. How this claim was resented—how it is still resented—by certain publishers shows that they have always understood very clearly, what it would mean to them and to what it would lead. This claim advanced, and kept boldly before us, we returned to our research, which was nothing less than learning the whole of the business of publishing—from the publishers' side. We were enabled to follow up our investigation by all kinds of materials—publishers' agreements, letters, and the evidence of printers, book-binders, advertisement-agents, clerks, travellers, publishers themselves—until at last we found ourselves fairly in a position to understand the methods pursued by every publishing house of any importance.

What did we find out? We laid bare a condition of things which at first sight made it seem as if the publishing business of England was based on systematic fraud. Case after case—shoals of cases—fell into our hands, involving one house after another, till we were almost fain to cry out, with the king, that all men were liars. Yet we refrained, though it was with pain and grief. Presently, when we had sifted and classified the cases before us, we were happy in discovering that against certain houses no charges could be brought, nor any unfair dealing proved, nor, I think, will any such things ever be alleged against these houses, and I sincerely wish that we could publish their names. What kind of frauds did we discover? You shall see if I can in a few pages convey some idea of their nature and variety.

There are three main lines of publishing: (1) When the author

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takes a half or some greater share of the profits; (2) when he receives a royalty of so much for every copy sold; and (3) when he sells his book outright.

I. Under the first head we found that the cost of production or manufacture was by the dishonest houses always fraudulently entered. Under every head it was set down falsely. Sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, in one case even fifty per cent in excess of the actual sum was charged. Sometimes the amount was increased by any fancy sum that the honest dealer chose to name. Remember that there was no way of proving the fraud except by bringing an action in the high court of justice, because the man refused to allow his books to be examined. And, further, because the author knew nothing of the real work of production and there was no body to advise him. Next, the publisher returned the sales as of so many copies, realizing so much. An examination of the books alone could show how far that part of the account was correct. Nay, so careless had impunity made him that in some accounts the number of copies stated to be sold was found not even to agree in different parts of the account. In one, I remember, there were three statements, all different, of the number sold. Thirdly, the advertising of the book affords an easy and very common form of fraud. There are many ways of cheating under this head, but I will mention only one or two. The first is to charge for inserting the book in the publisher's own catalogues and lists, which costs him nothing; the second is to charge for advertising in his own magazine—if he has one—which costs him nothing; the third is to exchange pages of advertisements with other magazines and charge a part of every page—which costs nothing—to the book in question. In this way an actual expenditure of £20 may easily become a nominal expenditure of anything one pleases. And, again, no fear of discovery without an action in the high court of justice, because the defrauded partner is not allowed to audit the accounts.

Perhaps an actual bill lying before me will best illustrate these methods of fraud. It is an account rendered of a "commission" book; that is to say, a book of which the author agreed to pay the whole cost of production, the publisher to receive a commission on sales. In this case, the book was one which could not possibly succeed; subject and style were equally uninteresting; the publisher, at the outset, knew that there could be no sales to speak of. The author was not warned that his book was certain to be a failure, and his work *was only published in order that the publisher might get what could be made by fraud.*

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The agreement stated the cost of production—*i.e.*, composition, printing, and paper—at £104, and undertook to expend £20 in advertising the book. The following was the account rendered to the author:

Composing, printing, and paper (750 copies)....	104.	0.	0			
Corrections.....	15.	0.	0			
Binding 250 copies at 8 pence.....	8.	6.	8	Received by sales, less commission.....	30.	12. 0
Advertising.....	38.	0.	6			
Items not in the estimate,	2.	10.	0	Due to publishers.....	137.	5. 2
	167.	17.	2		167.	17. 2

And this was the actual account, as obtained from printers' estimates and other sources, the advertisements charged being mainly for insertions in the publishers' own lists, which cost them nothing:

To composing, printing and paper (a heavy bill on account of certain changes of type).	70.	0.	0			
Corrections (say).....	5.	0.	0	Received by sales.....	30.	12. 0
Binding.....	6.	5.	0			
Advertising (actually spent, not including publishers' own lists) to take a large estimate.....	15.	0.	0	Due to publishers.....	65.	13. 0
	£96.	5.	0		£96.	5. 0

So that in this case the publishers' fraudulent profit was over £70. For the sake of this profit, so made, they published this utterly worthless volume. It may be urged that publishers must be paid for services rendered, whether the book is a success or not. Undoubtedly—but not by fraudulent statements.

II. By royalties. There is nobody so ignorant about his own profession as the author. When the royalty system was introduced, he jumped for joy. Before this, he had been promised half the profits, and had never got anything. Now, he was offered ten per cent and he was sure to get something. Therefore, he jumped. Now, when a book succeeds, a ten-per-cent royalty gives the publisher more than three times what it gives the author, taking the usual proportion of cost of production to price. A fifteen-per-cent royalty gives the publisher twice what it gives the author. A half-profit royalty, on a successful book, should be between twenty and twenty-five per cent.

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The introduction of a new system, of which the other side understood absolutely nothing, was too great and glorious a chance to be lost. First they offered ten per cent. Then they tried lowering the offer while making it seem the same; they offered ten per cent on the trade price, and the author, not understanding the difference, accepted. But this means seven per cent of the published or face price. Then they became bolder and gave free rein to fertility of invention. They invented deferred royalties. They offered ten per cent after so many copies were sold. One illustration will serve.

A certain firm the other day offered one of our best-known writers, for a book absolutely certain to sell, a royalty of ten per cent, to begin *after* 2,000 *copies had been sold!* Now, on going into figures, it became evident that the sale of 2,000 copies would give the publisher a profit of £150, to the author nothing; and a sale of 4,000 copies would give the publisher a profit of about £480, to the author £80. The author was very nearly signing this monstrous agreement when the society stopped him.

III. The third method of publishing is when the copyright is bought by the publisher. This is a very good plan for both author and publisher when honestly carried out. It relieves the former of all anxiety and it leaves the latter perfectly free to manage the book in his own way without reference to the author at all. But it must be carried out with due regard to the author's antecedents and reputation. For instance, any one of standing is certain of a minimum sale—the minimum to be arrived at by a knowledge of what he has already done. It is very easy to arrive at a fairly just estimate of an author's price. But the buying of books at present means the buying of story books, chiefly religious, for small sums. There are only three or four existing London firms which actually buy, right out, works of any importance. And as regards the buying of stories, it is found that the sweating of authors—chiefly ladies and small authors—that goes on is really terrible. But those who practise this kind of sweating take care not to put date or edition on the title page, so that their victims shall never know how they have been treated. It is therefore difficult to get at the truth. When, however, we have been able to do so, we have learned that the sweating of authors is quite as bad as that of the needlewoman or shirtmaker.

Now, there is a publishing company which has to publish its accounts every year. It is a religious society—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate

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of all England, first of her Majesty's subjects, is the president. All the bishops are vice-presidents. The archbishop has been one of the royal commissioners on the sweating system, and is supposed to be tender-hearted on the subject. Now, by the aid of their accounts, by the information of the authors, by printers' estimates, etc., we have discovered that this society contains a department in which the sweating of authors is habitually carried on.

What is the archbishop's own definition of the sweating system? "A rate of wage inadequate to the necessities of the workers, or disproportionate to the work done." The latter clause has reference to the trade value of the work, so that, for instance, a man who pays a shilling for work which he sells immediately for twenty shillings is a sweater.

Now, by their own confession, these people are in the habit of giving sums varying from £20 to £50 or £60 for work costing the authors months of application. If we say only four months and an average of £40 a book, these reverend gentlemen assess the value of an author's time to £10 a month or £120 a year, supposing he be constantly employed! But this is impossible, because a man cannot go on producing incessantly.

It may be urged that they name a price in ignorance of what the book will produce. But there is no ignorance; they know very well beforehand what the minimum will be. In the cases before me the books were sold by thousands. In one case, for instance, they actually gave the author £12 for a book—a little work of real historical research—which, by their own showing, sold up to 6,000 copies, and refused him any more. Their own profits on this sweating transaction[1] amounted to certainly £200. In all the miserable tales of sweating that we have heard, there is nothing more miserable and disheartening than the story of the publishing department of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It shows that the average man of culture has not even considered it possible that the producer of literary property has any rights at all. These men—clergymen, mostly—who would not, for any temptation that you could offer them, defraud any one of a single pin, calmly acquiesce in, and even defend, the merciless sweating of poor gentlewomen and of unfortu-

[1] In their humorous way they call profit the sum which remains after deducting their own salaries and the expenses of their establishment, which is really saving net profit, and only own up to £57 "profit," on this book. But £57 against £12 to the author! Even this is sweating—sweating—merciless, cruel sweating!

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nate authors. They cut them down to the very lowest terms they will accept; they sweep into their coffers most enormous profits (in one case a profit of £633 to the author's £62!) and cannot be made to see the iniquity of this traffic. Nay, more. When the thing is shown up, and when, in their official reply, the facts cannot be denied, the archbishop and the bishops take no steps, and so far as I have as yet ascertained, the sweating continues merrily, with solemn prayer and praise at every meeting of the committee, to sanctify the work. Of course the people who carry on the same kind of business as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are ruled and guided by their example. If the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the Bench of Bishops approve and permit and defend the sweating of authors, who can say a word against Barabbas and Co. for doing no worse?

The foregoing shows some of the frauds which attach to the different methods of publishing. They have been on several occasions publicly stated, by myself in the "Times" and elsewhere, in our society's reports, and in our society's journal, the "Author." No attempt has ever been made to deny them. Without stirring further into the deposits of this Augean stable, I think that this is enough to show the situation in this country. This is what goes on, and, until the society began its work, was going on unchecked. Fraud is certain to become common whenever it is unchecked. It is not, unfortunately, in human nature to resist the temptation of making money by fraud when discovery is next to impossible. Publishers refused to have their accounts audited; they did their best to conceal the actual cost of production; they would not give details of the money charged for advertisements; they would not allow their returns of sales to be checked. It was exactly as if the owner of houses was to have his rents collected by an agent who refused to tell him the rental of each or to let him audit his receipts.

Now, the society had first to discover, and to prove beyond the possibility of doubt, the existence of these frauds, the people who practised them, their extent, and their various branches. This done—the collection of facts still goes on—it had next to consider how best in the interests of literature to meet the case. First of all, the author might proceed by action in the high court of justice. But the society had at the outset no money to spend in such an action, and the victims were generally most unwilling to move. It is very remarkable that a man who will prosecute to the bitter end any little thief who steals his watch-chain will refuse to take any steps whatever

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against a man who steals the returns of his book. Next, the society might publish detailed reports, with the names implicated, of the cases as they came in. But the law of libel is severe. To describe the fraudulent practices of a trader is held permissible only when one can prove clearly that it is for the public good; otherwise martyrdom for the cause—perhaps, useless martyrdom—must be endured. Thirdly, it was possible, and on the whole seemed best—to lay down some of the simple principles which regulate literary, as well as every other kind of property, and to publish in general terms the facts discovered during our eight years of investigation—in other words, to teach the facts, first as a shield for the author and a terror to the dishonest publisher and, next, in order to create public opinion on this subject. These principles—which we must never suffer to be forgotten—are perfectly simple, and will be allowed at once by every man who recognizes the necessity of common morality in partnership and joint enterprise.

(1) In all business relations, partnerships, joint adventures, and enterprises, it is right, just, and proper that the two contracting parties shall each and severally have a full knowledge of what the agreements give to either side.

(2) In every such partnership, the books must always be open to inspection by both sides.

(3) When either partner in a transaction refuses to allow his accounts to be audited, it must be with fraudulent intent.

(4) The same caution and jealousy should be brought to bear in the management of literary property as of any other kind of property.

(5) No agreement should be accepted or signed without the advice of experts. Now, the advice of the ordinary solicitor on literary property is, as a rule, entirely worthless.

(6) A book may be valueless; it may be fairly successful; it may prove enormously successful; it may yield an income large or small, for years. Let the author regard it, therefore, as a possible gold mine, and watch over it as jealously as if it was a certain gold mine.

These principles laid down, we proceeded to strengthen the hands of authors by two very important publications. The first of these was a pamphlet called "The Cost of Production." In this little work is set forth the cost of printing and producing every ordinary kind of work. And, since printers' bills are curiously elastic things, we were careful to place a high figure, really much higher than that generally paid by publishers. This book is a safeguard against robbery such as has never before been placed in the hands of authors.

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Next, we issued a pamphlet of equal importance, called "Methods of Publishing." In this we gave an account of all the different methods, with the forms of agreement generally offered with each—real, not imaginary forms—and warnings as to the traps and pitfalls likely to occur and to be carefully laid down for each form. Here is another safeguard, the like of which the author never before possessed. These pamphlets are really useful for the frailty of publishers as well as the ignorance of authors. When the electric light is turned on, deeds of darkness are rendered difficult, if not impossible. Many a man who, when he was certain that he could not be discovered, might have yielded to temptation and sent in crooked accounts, refrains when he understands the danger of discovery. I am certain, by observation of recent accounts, that these two pamphlets have acted most beneficially upon those publishers who may be described as moral wobblers.

Thirdly, we have established our own organ—call it a trade organ—the "Author," in which we constantly keep before our readers all these difficulties and dangers and pitfalls, and discuss everything that belongs to the calling.

I have spoken of public opinion. The frauds described above existed and were carried on partly because they could not be proved and partly because there was no public opinion on the subject. There is not much yet, but there is some; and it is rapidly growing, thanks to our society. Many publishers, especially the younger men, are gentlemen who have their clubs and their social positions. Social position is like marriage; the man who has it gives hostages to fortune. He cannot afford to have it said that in business transactions he systematically cheats. Cold looks greet him, club acquaintances avoid him; he finds the atmosphere of the club chilling. This has happened already in one or two instances; it is the first expression of public opinion in its infancy.

What else can the society attempt? I wish I could publish in these pages, in order to show its work, the letters of a single day. Agreements are sent up for examination, questions of difficulty about copyright in articles or books, questions as to cost, questions as to the trustworthiness of publishers, questions of every kind. Our secretaries are supposed to know everything; hard by our offices are those of our solicitors, to whom are referred almost every day some points of difficulty. We keep authors out of the hands of dishonest publishers—this is a tremendous weapon. There are certain houses from which we have kept many thousands of pounds; we prevent

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authors from signing unfair agreements; we have readers to examine the manuscripts of young writers and to advise them. The new American copyright law has introduced a whole sheaf of difficulties. In a word, we are the only body which has ever existed for the maintenance and defence of literary property for its creators and producers.

There remains before us one more service to literature. We desire above all things to formulate the broad principles upon which publishing should be conducted, so as to give the author the full share that belongs to him and to recognize to their utmost the services of the publishers. Remember that we are not in any way hostile to publishers, but quite the reverse. We have always advocated the value of their services, and the necessity of paying for them as we pay the solicitor or the doctor for his services.

I do not think that the problem will prove insoluble, once fairly tackled. I have myself a solution to offer, if I can only persuade other people to accept it. Consider the greatness of this service; consider the happiness of at last making the author independent, as he will be, when he knows what his work is worth, and ceases to hang upon the "generosity" of the publisher who hides his accounts. No more suspicion; no more bitterness; a recognized agreement acknowledged just and fair by both sides; the books open for audit; and the only thing for the author to consider, the presentment of his message, the painting of his picture, the words and music of his song. The full knowledge of publishing methods, which must be influenced and modified by the enormous increase of the trade and the modern comparative freedom from risk—indeed few London houses, only the wealthiest, ever do take any risk—makes it comparatively easy to suggest a plan. Whatever method is adopted must depend entirely upon the success of a book, and therefore must be some form of royalty. Publisher and author must be interested in its success, each in his own fair proportion. In this place I can only point out the thing as one which must be attempted.

For my own part I have seen, every day since the formation of the society, fresh evidence of the necessity of such a corporation as our own. Literature has always suffered, not only in public repute, but also in its higher developments, from its dependence. Grub Street is by no means extinct; no one knows so well as ourselves how densely populated is that dreary quarter. Servile dependence is still the lot of many a poor writer; still, as in the last century, he has to wait humbly, hat in hand, to take what money the man who is to publish

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his work will toss him; being poor, he has to accept accounts which he is not allowed to audit, though he knows them to be false and fraudulent. If he gets a little more than he hoped, he is expected to fall on his knees after the manner of the last century and to shed tears. "Oh! 'tis too much—too much—such generosity!" Now, for the sake of all that is noble and beautiful in literature—for the inspiration and the wisdom of it, for the laughter and the tears of it, for the humanity—for the divinity—in literature, its followers need to be independent. Thank God! We belong to a time when any man who has a message to deliver, or a tale to tell that can move men's hearts, or a song to sing which will fire men's blood, may look for such support as will enable him at least to live while he tells it. Our enemies —those who live by the practices spoken of above—are eager to charge us with greed of gold. That is not so. Authors are only too ready to trust their affairs to the management of others. It is not greed of gold, my friends, that inspires the men who form our company to band together, but the determination to get justice, if it can be got, and, when it is got, to maintain and defend it.

WALTER BESANT.

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THE CASE OF THE AMERICAN AUTHOR.

MR. GEORGE H. PUTNAM'S article in the September FORUM on "Authors' Complaints and Publishers' Profits" is a distinct contribution to that branch of literature which treats of the relations between authors and publishers—a branch which perhaps possesses as great interest for book lovers as any other department of this many-sided art. The writer disclaims any prejudice or rancor toward publishers as a class, in what he has to say on this subject. He is not disposed to quote against them the remark of a distinguished member of their profession to a friend of his—"In this publishing business we take the profits and give the authors the glory"; nor does he agree wholly with one of the brightest and most famous of American authors, whom he recently asked to give his opinion of publishers. "That reminds me of a story," said the author. "Judge S. was once asked if they had good whiskey in Kentucky (where the judge resided). 'Good whiskey?' said the judge. 'There is no poor whiskey. There are different degrees of goodness, but all whiskey is good.' Now reversing this, I should say, there are no good publishers. There are different degrees of badness, but all publishers are bad." There are authors no doubt who would subscribe to this *mot*. The present writer, however, wishes to except certain honorable, high-minded members of the profession, educated men of literary tastes, interested in authors and literature other than in a commercial way, and in dealing with whom authors have no grievances.

In his paper Mr. Putnam describes the several methods of publication, and it is not necessary for us to refer to them except to point out how they militate in favor of the publisher, and to state more fully some of Mr. Putnam's half-truths and to supply some of his omissions. But before passing to that, I wish to notice one of his sophisms—which is conspicuous when he treats of the author as a private citizen merely, and takes the publisher's purely commercial view of him. But is the author a private citizen and nothing more? It is conceded among civilized people that its literature is the glory of a nation, a test of its civilization. Tennyson takes this view of it in "The Princess,"

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where the term, "bookless wilds," is used to designate a barbarous country. If this be so, authors, as the creators of a nation's literature, are intimately connected with the honor and glory of the nation itself; and those who wrong them or in any way limit their productive power are enemies of the nation, and much more culpable than the physician who oppresses his patient with unconscionable bills, or the lawyer who demands of his client an extortionate fee.

The several methods of publishing books before referred to are: the royalty plan, in which the author receives a certain per cent of the retail price of his book, usually ten; the half-profit plan, in which the author receives half the profits after all expenses of publication are met; and the agency plan, in which the author assumes all the expenses of publication and receives all the profits, paying the publisher a certain per cent for placing the book on the market. On its face the royalty plan seems the fairest and most equitable that could be devised; in its practical workings, however, it has been the cause of more dissatisfaction among authors than all of the other plans combined. This arises, first, from the author's having no means of knowing whether the number of books sold is honestly reported by the publisher or not; secondly, from the condition imposed by the publisher (whenever an author can be induced to agree to it), that no royalty shall be paid until the book has sold a certain number of copies—usually one thousand—his argument in support of this proposition being that the sale of one thousand copies is required to meet the expense of publication, and that he should not pay the author any profits until he begins to receive profits, *i.e.*, after the first thousand copies are sold. This at first sight seems plausible, and the young author—sometimes the old author—eager to get his work before the public, signs the contract, failing to see until later that his long years of labor in preparing the book should have been set over against the publisher's outlay of capital, and that the returns for his capital should have begun at the same time that the publisher's returns for his capital invested began—with the sale of the first book. To show how unjust this plan is, and to show how unfairly it works, I will cite three cases from real life—true names and dates of which are forthcoming if any one questions their accuracy.

First, that of A., a young author of a successful book, who conceived the design of a series of popular histories, and signed a contract with a prominent publishing-house to write the two opening volumes on the ten-per-cent-royalty plan, with the condition that no royalty should be paid until the first thousand copies were sold

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Let us examine this contract a little. It is a printed form furnished by the publisher, with blanks for the insertion of names, dates, etc. Besides the condition above noticed, it stipulated that the author should read proof, prepare an index, provide subjects for illustration, and guarantee the publisher against loss from libel suits for anything contained in the book, or for infringement of copyright. These conditions the author performed. He had previously spent five years in preparing for and writing the first book. It was published, and was favorably received by the reviewers and by the public. What has been his compensation? The first thousand copies were reported sold in the semi-annual return made two years after the book was issued, with 71 copies over, on which the author received seventeen and one-half cents each as copyright. Since then 146 copies have been reported sold; so that his total receipts for five years' labor were $37.97. It is true that after 3,000 copies are sold he will, by the terms of his contract, receive the copyright on the first thousand, but that period at the present rate of sale is very remote. The publisher, on the other hand, for the first thousand copies received eleven hundred dollars net. As the edition on the most liberal estimate could not have cost him over one thousand dollars, his profits on the first thousand were at least one hundred dollars as against the author's nothing. His profit on each book sold subsequently was fully fifty cents, as against the author's seventeen cents and a half. Under these circumstances, remembering his five years of toil, the author would seem to be justified in complaining that there was not a fair division of the profits. The second volume, issued a year later, has not yet paid him a penny. This, however, is a very mild example of the injustice of this plan. Its true inwardness is more fully shown in the case of costly works, *éditions de luxe*, and in the books of young authors; in both cases the publisher is reasonably certain that the required number of copies will never be sold, and that he, therefore, will not be required to pay the author a penny, and yet he encourages him to publish, makes a handsome profit on the printing of the work, and sells copies enough to have his outlay repaid and a handsome surplus besides.

Such methods come dangerously near swindling, and are so regarded by the victims of them, but are practised by the most reputable firms. One of the most flagrant cases of the kind within my knowledge was that of a well-known scientific man, whose name if given would be at once recognized as a household word. He performed a great feat in

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mechanical engineering, which, having a national significance, was widely exploited by the newspapers. Later he wrote a book about it, which he embellished with many valuable photographs, drawings, and plans, and contracted with a prominent publishing-house to bring it out as an *édition de luxe*, and on the plan above mentioned—no royalty until a certain number was sold. The writer expected, and had a right to expect, several thousands of dollars in royalties, which would have scarcely reimbursed him for his outlay; but he never received a dollar. The sales as reported by the publishers never reached the required number, and not a penny in copyright was paid him. He declared over and over again that he had been swindled, and the worry and disappointment, it is said, hastened his death.

Sixteen years ago another author, now well known, brought to a prominent American firm for publication his first book, also an *édition de luxe*, selling at ten dollars per volume. They made the usual proposition, ten-per-cent-royalty fee after the first thousand copies were sold, which he accepted. At the suggestion of the American house he arranged with an English publisher to bring out the book simultaneously, the two publishers sharing the cost of the plates. The English publisher with each semi-annual statement sent drafts for ten, fifteen, and once as high as fifty pounds for royalty fees. The American publisher, although he has been selling the book for sixteen years, and although the author hears from it as having been sold in all parts of the country, and it is apparently a standard work, has never yet reported a thousand copies sold, and the author has received nothing.

Many other instances of this kind might be given, but *cui bono?* The proviso is unjust and inequitable, a temptation to the publisher not to report the true number of copies sold, and should never be accepted by an author who expects pecuniary return for his labor.

One other remark of Mr. Putnam's in regard to the royalty plan should be noticed before leaving it. He says that of course the books of publishers should be open at all reasonable times to the author's inspection, and adds: "I think it probable that this is the practice of the leading publishers, at least in the United States." It is strange that Mr. Putnam should have gained that idea. If it were true, authors would have far less cause for complaint. But as a matter of fact, the books of publishers are not open to an author's inspection; should he seek to inspect them, the publisher would assume an injured air and ask if he thought that he was being cheated. Furthermore, it is certain that an author making that request would never again publish

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with that house, and probably not with any other. The semi-annual returns of sales, the only statement the author receives, give only the most meagre details of the business in which author and publisher are joint partners—for instance, so many books printed, so many given to editors (names of such editors not given) or for introduction, so many sold at auction, damaged (name of auctioneer and prices sold at not given), so many sold at or below cost (price or to whom sold not stated), and so many sold to the trade, on which alone a royalty is paid. The number of copies it is necessary to sell at or below cost, or at auction as damaged, or to give away for purposes of introduction, the author finds makes sad inroads into his profits. Practically, the whole business is in the hands of the publisher. He is master of the situation; he can print an edition of 1,500 copies and report 750; he can report as many given to editors, or sold at auction, as he pleases, and as many sold to the trade. And the author, without a thorough inspection of the books and the stock (which I have never known to be accorded him), can learn absolutely nothing of the truth or falsity of the statements. I have in mind an author whose three copyrights give him a royalty on all his books sold abroad, and who has many times importuned his publishers for separate statements of the sales in America and in Europe, and never yet has been able to secure even this concession.

A second objectionable feature of the royalty system is that which I will call the partnership plan, in which the author furnishes the electrotype plates, and the publisher does the rest, the author receiving an extra ten-per-cent-copyright fee for the use of his plates. D.'s bitter experience affords a case in point. It was his first book and he had great hopes of it. It was a book which, in the words of a later critic, "put a new phase on American history." He paid $1,000 for the material on which it was based, and placed it with a prominent firm on the partnership plan—he to furnish the plates and to receive twenty per cent copyright instead of ten, the usual rate. The plates cost him five hundred and thirty-one dollars—a much larger sum than they could have been procured for elsewhere. His publishers assured him that in their judgment the book would sell one thousand copies, and having in mind all the public libraries in America, to say nothing of the general book-buying public, he thought himself justified in assuming the risk, and therefore signed the contract. When the work was issued, its publication proved to be quite the literary event of the season. The leading journals devoted several columns each to favorable reviews of it. while the "Atlantic Monthly" did for it what it only

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does for the most important works—made it the subject of an article in the body of the magazine. And yet, six years afterwards, the publishers had reported in round numbers but four hundred copies sold, seventy-six of which had been taken by the author and his friends. This seems almost incredible, but it is true, and as the copyright fee on them at fifty cents per volume amounted to but two hundred dollars, the author is still in debt three hundred and thirty-one dollars for his plates. The publisher's profits, however, as the author learned later, were nearly four hundred dollars.

Another great hardship that authors suffer from the royalty plan —and from all other methods except the sale of their manuscripts outright—is the extremely dilatory manner of payment by the publisher. It generally requires six months to bring out a book of any magnitude, and it is usually six months more before the first semi-annual return of sales is made; so that under the best conditions an author must wait at least a year after his manuscript is sent in before receiving anything for his labor. Nor does he fare much better if employed by the publisher to write or edit a book. I have in mind a well-known author who was engaged by a western publishing firm of excellent reputation to edit for a stipulated sum a new edition of an old book which they proposed to publish, and to write an introductory sketch of its author. The author sent in his completed manuscript a year ago, and up to date has not only received nothing for the work, but can learn nothing from his publishers as to when they intend to publish it.

One other method of publishing remains to be noticed—the agency plan, in which the author meets the expense of publication, simply employing the publisher to place the work on the market for him. This plan is usually adopted only by the successful authors, who are sure of a market, or by the wealthy and inexperienced writers, who are ready to agree to anything in order to see themselves in print. In the case of the two latter classes, they become simply as sheep in the hands of the shearer, since the devices of the publisher for enticing the dollar from the pocket of the unwary author are shrewd and numberless beyond description. Mr. Putnam well remarks that the author should have an estimate and a contract and know beforehand what his book will cost; but the author's contract will prove of little service because of the long list of "extras" with which his bill will bristle. The story of the author whose contract called for the payment of one hundred dollars, and whose "extras" amounted to one hundred and

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fifty dollars, is at least founded on fact. Extra corrections, *i.e.*, new matter or corrections inserted in the proof, at fifty cents an hour, form the largest item in the "extras" list. Type different from that specified in the estimate, as antique or brevier instead of long primer, also figures among the extras, as well as tables or "matter not plain," pages or illustrations in excess of the estimate, and many other items that are accounted as "fat" by the publisher, but bring great leanness to the purse of the author.

I shall mention but one more grievance of authors, the list of which might be extended indefinitely, and that is the theft of their ideas by publishers. For instance, the author submits a book novel in plan but crude in treatment, or which the publisher would prefer to issue under a better known name. The latter, therefore, declines the author's offer, but appropriates his idea, and gives it to one of his favorites to be worked out and elaborated.

So much for authors' grievances. As to publishers' profits, Mr. Putnam states that they are far less than they were thirty years ago, and that they are steadily diminishing; yet facts patent to every one militate against Mr. Putnam's statement. In New York City alone are nearly a dozen publishing-houses of great wealth, and a score more in a highly prosperous condition. One rarely hears of a publisher failing, from the Cheap Johns and publishers of penny dreadfuls to those of a higher order. On the other hand, there can scarcely be pointed out an American author who is able to make even a decent living by his books.[1]

However, the vital question is: How can this state of things be remedied? A partial remedy could be found, no doubt, in the formation of an American society of authors similar to the Incorporated Society of Authors of Great Britain, or the *Société des Gens de Lettres* of France. The British society is organized for the protection of literary property. It has been already of incalculable benefit to the British author. The organization of a similar society has been long mooted among American authors, and signs point to the present time as being ripe for it. The writer in his inquiries among literary men has found every one in favor of it, and none opposed to it. Such a society should be organized on the most liberal basis. It should be open to every one, young or old, male or female, who has written a book, whether published or not, and to

[1] This does not refer to editing and work on magazines and newspapers, which are much better paid than book-writing proper.

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recognized writers for the press. It should retain the best legal counsel; it should provide from its concentrated wisdom and experience a form of contract in which the author's right should be protected—such contracts having been hitherto drawn by the publisher for the protection of his interests. It should have at least one executive officer, who should be an author of experience, and who should give information to all members applying for it, and take cognizance of all complaints, and who should have for counsel and assistance an advisory board composed of three of the ablest and most experienced members of the society. Finally, it should assume, and carry to the courts if need be, all clear cases of extortion and oppression of authors on the part of publishers. Such a society would save American authors thousands of dollars yearly, and chiefly to the young and inexperienced, who need help most. In addition, it should push forward certain reforms sorely needed, as the extension of copyright to at least fifty years beyond the lifetime of the author, and the enactment of laws similar to those that obtain in France. In France the author is master. No printer can print, no publisher sell, a copy of his book without his written authority, and if they do they can be prosecuted criminally. More stringent laws could be obtained here, no doubt, by such a combination of authors as I have named.

CHARLES BURR TODD.

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AN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION BY GOOD ROADS.

I HAVE for years urged improvement in the building and maintenance of public roads for practical business reasons. So far as I could use and extend my influence and the influences that I could quicken, I have sought to kindle and to fan a flame of enthusiasm for improved carriage roads, on the grounds of prudence in the expenditure of money, of foresight in the development of plans, and of practical results—that is to say, of profits measurable as money-returns on investment.

Within the last three years this flame has spread from a little light here and there,—where clear thinkers and writers have shown the people the general insufficiency of our highways, the faulty methods pursued with them, the available means for their improvement,—into a popular movement for immediate action. The press has become active on the subject; societies have been organized to agitate it; boards of trade and of agriculture have discussed it; cities and towns and counties have begun to work at it; and States have taken it in hand. The governors of several of our great States have insisted on it in their messages. The legislatures of several States have made it a prominent matter of legislation. Instructorships in road engineering have been established at some of the leading technological institutions. The facts upon which is based the science of road-making and repair in all its branches—materials, modes of construction, experiments and observed results abroad and at home—have been brought together and made accessible in a literature as valuable as it is interesting. Some of the States are moving on this line, from neighborhood primary elections to their legislative enactments, and the State that does not move will be left behind in commercial and agricultural prosperity.

There is a temptation in writing on this subject to urge the greater comforts of living where the roads are good, the satisfactions of pride and of public spirit, and the claims of good taste and love of order and beauty; and to urge that these also contribute to the material prosperity in keeping and attracting residents and in stimulating

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further development. But I appeal now to the sordid, solid, immediate returns of money values, and rest the matter there. The lessons of experience are everywhere so plain that he who runs may read. When a number of wealthy men in any part of our country take a tract of land to develop it they first expend thousands of dollars for roads because it pays to do so. It would pay the poor men equally well in proportion, and if enough of them would co-operate they would have enough money.

In Pennsylvania the residents in and near Bryn Mawr set a practical example in expending thousands of dollars got by private subscription to make certain streets good both for pleasure and for business, at all seasons of the year, with the result of stimulating a general improvement of roads in the vicinity. The towns of Brookline and Newton in Massachusetts have doubled their population in the last five years, more because of their excellent roads than by reason of anything else. The Oranges in New Jersey afford another example. The small interior town of Rock Hill in South Carolina has found it profitable to macadamize its main roads for ten miles in all directions as an inducement to the farmers to draw their cotton and other produce to that town to exchange for supplies. In the State of Georgia, where sandy and clayey regions alternate, certain towns have set a contagious example, by mingling clay with the sand and sand with the clay, and thereby obtaining without the larger expense of macadamizing very serviceable and enduring roads.

The first roads were built by the owners of the land through which they passed, from necessity of their own immediate use. Then towns came to take the expense, because it was necessary to distribute the cost and the care of maintenance of roads over more people and more territory. Then counties assumed the expense and care of certain roads of more difficult and extensive construction. State interposition in the construction of roads is almost as old as the English settlements of this country. As long ago as 1639 it was found necessary for the General Court of Massachusetts by statute to compel the towns to complete and keep in continuous construction and repair the through roads, bridges, and ferries from Newbury to Hingham. The national road from Delaware to Ohio, whose promotion was begun by General Washington, is another instance. The freeing of toll-bridges and turnpikes in most of the States and the construction of bridges in place of ferries, are further illustrations of this principle.

Governor Beaver of Pennsylvania well expressed the universal in-

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terest in the betterment of carriage roads when he said: "From the time of our birth to the time of our death and burial the public road is a subject which concerns every man and every family." Not only does every man and every family have this interest in the road immediately adjacent to his home, the need of it for going to and from his source of supply and his market for his products, his school, his church, his post-office, his town hall; but he has a like interest in all the roads of his State, and in all the roads of all the States. An enlightened consideration of the subject will bring to each man an appreciation of this fact. And because every one in the whole larger community of the State is interested in all the roads, or at least to a very considerable degree in all the principal roads, the State should require all its citizens to contribute in their due proportions to the construction and management of them. Thereby it will provide for a more equitable and a less onerous distribution of the expense of construction and maintenance, and a more valuable average of the roads. The road between any two places is no better for practical use than the worst part of it, just as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. This distribution of expense for particular public objects over a larger area and a greater number of contributors is taught and understood through the state interposition and relief in the matter of military defences and military training, the old town powder-houses and training days giving place to state militia and arsenals, as also in the case of improving the channels and the securities of navigation in rivers and harbors. An illustration to the same effect may be drawn from the development of our school system.

I would have each State by a legislative enactment do at once two or three things in the direction of this movement, viz.: procure and disseminate information by establishing a bureau where the facts relating to the expense, mechanical construction, care, durability, use and extent of the different kinds of roads shall be known and ascertained; then I would have some kind of state supervision and advisory assistance by a competent engineer or engineers appointed by the State in aid of road and bridge building and repairing upon scientific principles and upon a comprehensive and economical plan for the whole State; thirdly, I would have the State either own or control and maintain some through highways, connecting the principal towns in the State, and connecting these with the principal towns of neighboring States, where they are most needed, either for great public exigencies or for the greatest general use. The State would thus promote the

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equalization and the general reduction of expense of construction and maintenance of these main roads and would give a profitable example and a strong incentive to the adjacent towns to construct better contributary roads as feeders to the main ones. I would have the State divide the expenses of this scheme of road betterment in the tax levy, so that part of it should be apportioned to the whole State, part to the counties through which the roads ran, and part to the towns. And, further, I would have this tax levy kept small and the investment adequate and quickly made by the business man's method of borrowing the money on long loans. It would thus be easily paid out of the profits by those sharing them.

Objections have been raised to the state control and maintenance of carriage roads, generally by the farmers and citizens of country towns. These objections are substantially three: (1) The farmers cling to the ancient custom of "working out" their highway taxes—that is, of going themselves with their employees and teams, at such times as are most convenient to them, and working at certain rates upon the road, and thus avoiding a money assessment. (2) The inhabitants of the towns are jealous of interference or encroachment upon their management of their own affairs. (3) The people fear added taxation.

Now by the plan I urge these objections are all met, and in what I deem a thoroughly practical way. The townsmen may be left with the opportunity of working out a portion of their taxes upon the town roads tributary to the main roads, and without interference in their management of them; while at the same time their taxation will not be increased in the aggregate for roads, because the expense of the general or "through" roads is to be provided for by loans, and to be distributed to the counties and the State, and this distribution will result in the more populous neighborhood and wealthy people paying most of the tax. If it is for the interest of the farmer to reach the city easily and quickly and with a good profitable load from his farm, it is of equal interest to the dwellers in the city whom he supplies that he shall so reach them. The gain goes partly to the farmer in increased profit and less waste of time and wear and tear, and partly to the citizen in lower prices. How few realize the large element which transportation makes in the cost of every supply, and how much it has to do with the value of every commodity for sale!

Bad roads force people to live in cities; good roads tend to take them out into the country. This observation reveals its force perhaps

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more strikingly when read in view of the facts of railroad development, to which the especial attention of the American people has been given during the past forty years. The railroads have centralized the population in the cities and larger towns, and arranged them along their lines of communication. Now what is needed is an equal development of carriage roads to broaden the areas of population and to relieve this congestion.

Railroads need better carriage roads for feeders; farmers need them for access to the railroads and to the cities; manufacturers need them for access to less populous areas and for lower rents and for less cost of portage and transportation; merchants need them as an element in the cheapening of their wares; the people need them for the reduction of the expense of satisfying their want and for the more efficient distribution of their activities.

All men work and plan, after supplying their own and the immediate needs of their families, to leave a good inheritance to their children. All good citizens take into their plans of public expenditure the leaving of wise investments to the next generation. What wiser, surer, and better inheritance can we leave to our sons and our successors than good roads—roads that can be preserved and used at little expense and that endure both as monuments and as investments during the years and the centuries to come?

ALBERT A. POPE.

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WHAT THE AMERICAN SUNDAY SHOULD BE.

So far as the merits of the case are concerned, the four words, "Sabbath," "Sunday," "First Day," and "Seventh Day" are one and the same term. The attention a mind may bestow upon any one of these names should depend upon its amount of leisure and upon its fondness for the study of resemblances and demarcations. What is known as the Puritan Sunday cannot be so lightly set aside. It is a peculiar mode of spending one of the seven days of the week; and inasmuch as all persons, religious or non-religious, have days to spend, the Puritanic method of using one-seventh of these little periods comes up constantly for praise or blame. Men and women of common thoughtfulness ought to possess a good reason for spending in some peculiar manner fifty-two days of every year in what each one hopes will be a long life.

The Puritanic Sunday is a difficult object to analyze from the fact that it was the sacred day of a race so great as to make it no easy task to distinguish the influence of the day from the influence of the race. It is a good case for conjecture—whether the Sunday was wings to the Puritans or was only a mill-stone on their necks. That group of men was rich in great ideas. Liberty, education, industry, and faith in God and Jesus Christ were truths and sentiments so powerful that no one can express in definite terms just what good or ill may have come to those exiles from the austerity of their Sabbath. It is probable that their holy-day was "wounded in the house of its friends," and that it marred a land and a period which it ought to have blessed. If Luther made the Sunday a most pleasant and restful season, if John Milton held that the day rested upon human authority alone, if the greatest Roman-Catholic and Lutheran divines filled the twenty-four hours with sleep, work, rest, and happiness, it cannot remain possible that the Puritans extracted from the blueness of the time any great part of their confessed usefulness. It most probably lay upon their hearts as a long-lasting and grave error, a little the less injurious because it was cherished as a truth.

The Puritan Sunday came in part from a sudden exaltation of the

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Old Testament and from the accidental play of asceticism upon a few minds. When the Bible came to Luther, it came to a bold and broad intellect. He plainly requested Moses to stand back and make room for Christ. "I will have none of Moses and his law, for he is an enemy to my Lord and Saviour. If Moses will go to law with me, I will give him a dismissal and will say, 'Here stands Christ.' We must reject the law when it seeks to affright the conscience; and when we feel God's anger against our sins, then must we eat, drink, sleep, and be cheerful so as to spite the devil." Elsewhere Luther looks upon the Mosaic law as being a scolding woman. "Madam Law! I have no time to hear you speak. Your language is rough and unfriendly. I would have you know that your reign is over. I am free. I will endure your bondage no longer."

To some men the Bible came back too completely. The Romanists had kept it from the people so long that when it came back to the northern belt of Europeans it overdid its return. In their excessive hunger, some ate up the Mosaic laws as though they were just as fresh and sweet as the Sermon on the Mount. They began to consider the ideas of whipping to death a rebellious son, of stoning any one who should gather sticks upon the Sabbath day, and of taking possession of the heathen for an inheritance. The Puritan Sunday was a modern effort to reproduce the Mosaic age. The name Puritan came from the resolve and effort of a group of Christians to obey the Bible in its purity. They were not to favor some part of the book. It was to be alike divine and binding in Leviticus, the Psalms, and the gospels. If Exodus said, "You must not suffer a witch to live," it remained only to find the person who was acting in that character; the existence of such persons having been settled for all time by the mere fact of the Mosaic enactment, for it could not be supposed for a moment that God would suggest such a law in a planet which contained no supply or specimens of the thing condemned.

To this influence of the Mosaic age upon a group of English Christians must be added the fact of a certain wave of asceticism which makes all kinds of solemnity and self-denial seem works and virtues which commend the soul to its God. As no one can tell upon what human beings suicide will fall, or what traveller lightning will strike, or on what cradle genius will lay a wreath, or what infant, Achilles-like, will select a sword, so no one can explain the movements of the strange feeling known as the impulse of the ascetic. All that is known is that each age in the entire historic period, pagan, Jewish,

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and Christian, has produced men who desired to go barefoot in winter and to feel day and night the inconvenience of a girdle of thorns, or of digestive organs which have long been denied water and food. It is said by theological philosophers that asceticism comes from a notion that all sins are in the body and that consequently the body is the greatest enemy of the soul. To torture the body is therefore, as a mental training, better than a course in college, and as a means of grace more effectual than any such works as freeing slaves or civilizing the savages. This asceticism always existed in India; it came and went in the long life of the Hebrew nation; it stood close to Christ in the band of the Essenes; it took the sandals from John's feet, put a girdle of camels'-hair around his loins, and fed him on locusts and wild honey; it touched Marcus Aurelius with its melancholy wand, it reduced his palace to a tent, it changed happiness into endurance; it went on and made the Carmelite monks, who vowed to hold no property, to live each in a cell by himself, to eat no meat, to maintain silence when not compelled to speak; it went on until it expressed itself in the writings of St. Francis of Sales and St. Liguori; it entered the mind of that lofty name, Blaise Pascal, and persuaded a most gifted genius to wear a girdle of spikes which pointed inward and to fear lest it might be a sin for him to bestow any marks of friendship upon his sister. Such was the thought or the sentiment which went northward and repeated its exploits among minds which were already infatuated with the religious statutes of Moses.

It is not certain that the ancient Hebrews ever saw a Sabbath as dreary as that of the Puritans in Old or New England. The central idea of the Mosaic day was rest. This peace must reach every beast, every servant, every stranger. It is not known how much laughter and common joy there may have been in the homes of old Judea, but from the many happy feasts which the Israelites celebrated each year it would seem probable that the Sabbath was at least a season of unconcealed joyfulness and of most welcome rest from all labor.

The Puritanic Sunday has been dying all through this century, and a modified holy day has come in its stead. The new season is often called the European Sunday, but in this nation at least the name is not yet applicable. The American Sunday is a resultant made by the union of many forces. The old, severe season dies for want of an adequate reason of existence. It was too inhuman to meet the need of humanity; but this decay of the old does not prove that a formal substitute has appeared. The real truth is that the European Sunday

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is a poor thing, and the American Sunday contains many undesirable attributes. Neither of these days contains rest enough. Even if the element of worship is left out of view, there is not rest enough in the time to make it full of value to mind and body.

All social and religious institutions demand a large amount of deep and rational thought. There may be spontaneous fruits that are sweet, and spontaneous blossoms of pleasing perfume, but there are for man no spontaneous institutions or laws. If liberty is planted and limited by labor, if religion must be defined by active reflection, it is not probable that a good Sunday will come to a church or a state by the way of neglect. The European Sunday is nothing else than the natural holiday of old nations into which play-day the Church has projected a sermon and a prayer. The day has never been subjected to much rational inquiry. Luther, in all his fondness for talk and for rapping all things on the head with a stout stick, never alluded to Sunday.

The term "European Sunday" is not definite enough. We should find some other name for a kind of day which prevails in Cuba, in New Orleans, in Mexico, and in all the South American states. The title, Roman-Catholic Sunday, would be more explicit and historic. The Roman Church dominated Europe for so many centuries that she may well be called the maker of that rest which is dignified by the word "European." The Roman Church early in its career decided that the Mosaic Sabbath ended at the coming of Christ, and that the Christian Sunday was a human, uninspired product. Constantine thought so much of Sunday that he ordered legal business and manufactures to cease for the day, but later emperors permitted the peasants to go on with their ploughing. Having no express divine sanction the day was simply the average holiday of each locality, except in this, that it opened in the morning or afternoon to admit of a religious service. In Spain the bull-fight stood joined to the prayer and hymn; in France the French amusements became partners in the twenty-four hours of leisure; in Germany the theatre, the dance, and the picnic took up their full share in this off-day of the continent. The Catholic was required to attend one mass. Once this mass was an hour or two in length, but it underwent a very great reduction, and at last a half-hour of prayer and penitence became the *per centum* of the day which the common churchman paid to the cause of piety. Many thousands of devout persons gave the entire day to worship and deeds of benevolence; but this was an unnecessary goodness. When a large

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multitude of Catholics went out from the Roman faith and founded the Lutheran Protestant sects, they repeated in the Augsburg Confession of 1530 the dogma that the Sunday possessed no divine authority; and thus the Lutheran Church became only a new promoter of the Catholic Sunday with all its ideas and practices. Thus for many centuries the European Sunday has been only a day of common festivity modified by an interval of religious service. The shooting-match, the horse-race, the dancing-party, the beer-garden, the bull-fight, were left untouched because, the day not having come from any decree of Heaven, it ought to be thankful if it caught a few morning prayers from church and state.

The English Church possesses a much better Sunday than the one which prevails from Berlin to Madrid and Mexico. The Sunday of England in its rest and quiet excels that of the Protestants in the United States. In 1618 James I. authorized certain games for the afternoons of Sunday. Another "Book of Sunday Sports" was issued by authority a few years later, but the acts were repealed in a score of years, and, in the main, England settled down into quite a respectable condition of rest, silence, and external piety, and perhaps shows now the best Sunday of the whole world.

The Sunday of the United States escaped from Puritanism, but only to fall into the hands of new enemies. Not only had the Roman Sunday been brought over by the Catholics and the Lutherans, but the railway came to tempt even the Protestant clergy to travel on the day which had once been as still as a June morning in a big meadow. The preacher and the elder and deacon at first went only a few miles on a Sunday train, to dedicate a church or see a sick friend. By slow steps the rail-car triumphed over the preacher and layman and the Sunday of the highest reason as well as of the simplest piety is falling a victim to the old European definition and to the noise of railway wheels.

What is to be the fate of our Sunday no one can tell. Its fate ought to be fair and even noble when one thinks about the growth of common sense. The idea of a day of rest for man and beast ought to ask no aid from revelation, so easily should it repose upon the wants of our race. And if to this conception of rest be added the idea of a certain high and moral education, the day should still find ample support in the processes of reason. A majority of Americans perhaps favor the day because of their religious beliefs and feelings; but almost the entire population ought to confess the value of a season

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which might offer rest and a certain mental and spiritual elevation to the millions who are gathered in the forty-four States. If the religious possess any true sense of religion, they can find and worship their God in the silence and peace itself of the hour. In the fourth commandment nothing is ordered except a cessation of all work. No allusion is made to any service or sacrifice, psalm or prayer. The pause was the worship. As Moses put off his shoes because he suddenly found himself on holy ground, so the Hebrews stood still on a certain day that that Jehovah who with a mighty arm had led them out of bondage might seem to be in the fields and homes in such a majesty as to stop the hammer, the mill, and the plough. The Hebrews worshipped through symbols rather than through words.

Our times cannot profit by the Hebrew symbol of rest alone. Man has undergone great changes in the thousands of years. He possesses greater activity of intellect and more objects of desire and regard. But no change has come that makes human nature need endless work and eternal tumult. The Church and State may soon teach the heart to need the endless hum of wheels and the scream of the steam-whistle, but it would be difficult to show that such instruction were not parallel to the work of that school in London where little children are taught to steal. So far as our law-makers and religionists hold that the labor and pain of man and beast ought to run on through all the days of the week and be perpetual, they simply make themselves absurd. The poets have taught us all to esteem highly perennial spring and perennial flowers, but those children of genius have left to civilians and semi-Christians the task of singing the charms of wheels which never stop, of workmen who never see the fields or the sun, and of a horsewhip which cannot in the name of God and man ever cease from its lashing. The mind which advocates seven days of noise, labor, and pain for each week has unconsciously undergone a metamorphosis more distressing than any reported in Ovid and has itself become a rattling machine.

But absolute rest, perfectly satisfactory to horse and dog, is not adequate to the high nature of man. On Sunday he may well, indeed he must, stroll into the parks, the woods, or fields; he must move quietly through galleries of art; he should sit down in the halls of music or, what is better in summer, hear music in the open air; he should realize that he has a form of soul which needs each week at least one good feast of more divine food. His nation or state, if it has any mind and sentiments worthy of the nineteenth century, will

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for his sake compel labor to cease, will close saloon, race-track, the fighting-ring, will close all gates that are infernal, and will fling open gates of a celestial quality so far as they are possessed by our defective civilization. All these uses of Sunday fall under the head of education—the education a state may order and protect. It may be called the civil salvation and should resemble that of the Church in being free to all.

The Sunday of the Church—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—should of course be more religious. The United States cannot as a nation deal heavily in religious ideas. The Sunday of those who worship a Creator must add to the beauties of the citizen's Sunday acts and hours of worship and deeds of charity. It need not cast away any part of the civil Sunday, it may only add to it the worship and active benevolence which follow as effects from the espousal of a religion; but it cannot ally its sacred season in any manner with daily labor, the bull-fight, the race-track, or with the low amusements of the Roman past, nor with the melancholy and inhuman customs of the Puritans. In the higher light of the present times the European and Puritanic days must be looked upon as experiments which failed and which to the fact of failure added the additional disgrace of deserving their fate. Rome made a Sunday, Calvinism made a Sunday. It is no insult to those workmen to say that they would better try again. All institutions pass through a period of childhood. If Rome once held views in astronomy which it has since recalled; if Calvinism once threw into the flames children who have been plucked from the fire by later hands, it is probable that the Sunday these Christians once made needs many new moments of deep thought and bold touches of reconstruction.

Some great merit lies hidden in the idea of Sunday. The Hebrew race pointed toward a weekly physical rest for mankind; in the same direction some pagan races pointed; thither Christ pointed when he said the Sabbath was made for man; in the same direction unasked by inspiration the Catholic Church reached out its holy hand; toward the same good the Protestants made an earnest and sacred attempt to guide the modern millions; and toward a day of rest and elevated conduct many a statesman studying this world alone has looked with approval and patriotic hope. It becomes our eminent religionists and social economists to inquire what is the good toward which all these fingers have steadily pointed. There are Catholics, Jews, and Protestants in this land whose eyes sweep a wider horizon than was scanned

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by any former period. The multiplying millions, the awakened intellects which can grow in vice as easily as in virtue, the needless work and pain of a people made half wild by liberty, the value of all true education and study, whether it comes from the arts or the fields or the sanctuary, join in asking the thinkers powerful in the Church to discover what kind of Sunday will most truly bless man, not only as a religious being but also as a being capable of a greatness and happiness upon earth. The occupation of this country by the European Sunday ought to be looked upon as only a calamity. Such a day intensifies passions the Sunday was designed to abate. It doubles the opportunity of both vice and crime. Under it society can live indeed, but the spectacle is a poor one compared with the vision of a great nation in which the dreamer sees the labors of the week all suspended for one day, the dens of temptation all closed, the churches, the parks, the libraries, the galleries, the fields all open, and frequented by millions of persons in youth or in old age who one day in seven touch existence on its greater side. If these millions cannot all feel with the Hebrews that God is in the silence, they can all feel for one day each week that there is much of nobleness and happiness possible to mankind.

A great moral or social principle has often come to society by way of fanaticism, but never by way of indifference. Puritanism itself, with all its defects, offered more hope of a Sunday than can be found in apathy, because fanaticism often settles down into reason, while the natural ending of indifference is death. The Christians who made the holy day weigh upon the heart like lead and who spent twelve hours in the active exercise of worship, promised to the world more of the Sabbath philosophy than can be found in the practice of those who in Christ's name offer a religious service for eleven o'clock and a bull-fight or a horse-race for the afternoon. The minds which can consent to resolve Sunday into a feast, a nap, games, and continued work for man and beast with a general tolerance of weaknesses and vice, must be looked upon as having abandoned the human race and having become the disciples of a sleepy indifference. It is to be hoped that these great times will produce thoughtful men; and that by the aid of the great volume of human experience and the new power of a reason greatly awakened, there shall be deduced a Sunday which shall be full of rest, of education, of morals and happiness for the people of a most noble republic.

DAVID SWING.

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METHODS OF RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION.

THE practical immediate questions concerning immigration are: What alarm is felt, what is the real danger, what are our present laws, and what new legislation is needed? The alarm springs from a constantly increasing influx within our borders of classes of immigrants of a most undesirable character. The danger is the reduction of wages, to the injury of the American workman and of his home and family, the debasement of the suffrage, and a wide contamination of society. The existing laws are wisely framed so far as they go, and their present strict enforcement (which should be made even more rigid) will do much to quiet the alarm and avert the danger. Some new legislation is required, more effectually to keep out persons now proscribed. The question of excluding persons now allowed to come will depend entirely upon the views and wishes of the people as expressed by their senators and representatives acting without reference to politics. Party legislation in the Fifty-second Congress is impossible; and partisan discussion in a magazine article would be valueless.

THE ALARM AND THE DANGER.

It is necessary to look at a few statistics. It is estimated that since 1820 there have come to this country between twelve and fourteen millions of immigrants. The arrivals during the decennial years since 1820 have been as follows:

1820..... 8,385	1850.....310,004	1880.....593,703
1830.....23,322	1860.....153,640	1890.....455,302
1840.. ...84,066	1870.....356,303	1891.....560,319

During the ten years from 1881 to 1890, inclusive, the number was 5,246,613. During the past six years the total immigration (not including that from the Canadian Dominions or Mexico) has been as follows:

1886 (year ending June 30).... 334,203	1889..... 444,427
1887..... 490,109	1890..... 455,302
1888..... 546,889	1891..... 560,319

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The nationalities for 1890 and 1891 show whence the rapid increase comes:

	1890.	1891.		1890.	1891.
Bohemia	4,505	11,758	Malta	1	6
Hungary	22,062	28,366	Netherlands	4,326	5,206
Other Austria except Poland	29,632	30,918	Norway	11,370	12,568
Belgium	2,671	3,037	Poland	11,073	27,497
Denmark	9,366	10,659	Portugal	158	918
France	6,585	6,770	Roumania	517	957
Germany	92,427	113,554	Russia except Poland	33,147	42,145
Gibraltar	9	13	Finland	2,451	5,281
England	57,020	53,600	Spain	813	905
Scotland	12,041	12,557	Sweden	29,632	36,880
Ireland	53,024	55,706	Switzerland	6,993	6,811
Wales	650	424	Turkey in Europe	206	265
Great Britain—not specified	19	24	Asia—China	1,716	2,836
Greece	524	1,105	All other	2,732	4,842
Italy—continental	51,799	72,704	All other countries	9,357	8,656
Sicily and Sardinia	204	3,351	Total	457,030	560,319

The increase between June 30, 1890, and June 30, 1891, is 103,289, of which come from—

Italy proper	20,905	Russia proper	8,998
Sicily and Sardinia	3,147	Finland	2,830
Poland	16,424	Total	52,304

The total immigration from June 30 to December 31, 1891, is 241,162, of which there come from—

Italy	19,013	Russia	45,362
Poland	15,455	Finland	1,304

About one-half the above increase of 105,017 is composed of the very worst class of immigrants. They are illiterate, coarse, and stupid—utterly unfit for residence or citizenship in the United States. These remarks apply to recent immigrants from southern Italy, Russia, Poland, and also Hungary. The following illustrative specimens came from southern Italy and testified before the Ford Committee of the Fiftieth Congress, First Session (House Miscellaneous Document, No. 572, of January 19, 1889):

Vincendo Ronda, from Campobasso, near Naples, swore as follows:

Q. What was your occupation in Italy? A. Farmer. Q. What did you receive for farming? A. Ten cents and meals. Q. Meals for yourself, or yourself

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and family? A. No, sir, the meals were for me, and the family fed on the ten cents. Q. No lodgings were included—you had to lodge yourself? A. I had to bed myself. Q. When you landed in this country, were you in possession of any money? A. Not a cent. Q. Or property of any kind? A. Nothing, sir, no property. Q. Were you able to live on that ten cents a day in Italy and three meals? A. Well, it was bound to be enough by taking the Indian corn on credit, and paying for it as best I could.

Angelo Antonio Di Dierro, of Campobasso, swore:

Q. What was your occupation in Italy? A. Countryman. Q. Farmer? A. Digging. Q. Digging at what? A. Farm work. Q. Can you read or write Italian? A. No, sir. Q. You cannot read nor write? A. No, sir. Q. How old are you? A. Twenty-three. Q. What wages did you receive as an agricultural laborer in Italy? A. Food and half a franc. Q. Half a franc is equal to about ten cents of our money? A. Yes, sir.

Antonio Angionicola, also from Campobasso, swore:

Q. Can you read or write? A. No, sir. Q. What was your occupation in Naples? A. Countryman. Q. Farm work? A. Yes, sir. Q. Give us the lowest and highest wages that prevailed during any given time. A. For farm work always ten cents. Q. And meals? A. And meals.

Dominco Ramone, also from Campobasso, swore:

Q. How much wages did you receive working on a farm? A. Ten cents and meals, and when I worked for my own account then I made 24 or 25 cents.

Gaetaro Braccio, from Avellino, Southern Italy, swore:

Q. What was your occupation in Italy? A. Farm work by the day. Q. How much did you get a day? A. Ten cents and meals.

Nicolla Di Alve, from Chieti, Italy, swore:

Q. What was your business or occupation in Italy? A. Farm hand. Q. What pay or compensation did you receive for your labor there? A. From ten to fifteen cents a day and meals. Q. Does that mean meals for yourself or does it include your family? A. For myself alone.

And so on with numerous other southern Italy farm hands.

Nasief Abonazin, of Mt. Lebanon, Syria, swore:

Q. What are the wages of an ordinary common laborer in your country? A. Ten or 15 or 20 cents a day. Q. And board? A. No, sir, nothing at all. Q. How much would it take you to live economically? A. About 20 cents; 15 cents if I wanted to live in an honest way, if I didn't want to spend out all the money. Q. What do you live on? What food do you eat? What do you have for breakfast or dinner or common daily life? What did you use to eat? A. Well, sometimes bread and lebin, that is made out of milk and dry meat and kidneys, and something which they cook with corn. Q. Did you eat meat every day? A. No, once or twice a week. Q. Is once or twice a week all you would have meat? A. Some weeks three times and some weeks twice. Q. By meat do you

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mean poultry, chickens? Do you include that in the meat, or do you mean beef? A. They don't eat beef, only mutton and lamb. Q. Do you mean poultry and mutton? A. No, we can't eat chicken.

Not only are the wages of labor lowered and society degraded by the inroads of foreigners like the foregoing, but it may fairly be said that they become immediate additions to our voters and begin to elect the rulers of America. All the male immigrants who remain in New York City become voters without regard to the prohibitions of our naturalization laws whenever a great political party determines to bring them to the polls.

In New York City during October, 1891, and before the November election, about seven thousand naturalization papers were issued, nearly all by one judge, who examined each applicant and his witnesses to his satisfaction, and signed his orders at the rate of two per minute and as many as six hundred and eighteen in one day. There were many classes of frauds committed. Papers were issued where the aliens named in them had not been in the country five years; where there should have been preliminary declarations, but no proof of such was required; where there had been such declarations, but final papers were issued without their production, on the false assumption that the applicants had arrived under the age of eighteen; where witnesses were recorded as testifying to the five-years' residence, when they had known the applicant only a few hours, the witnesses being professional perjurers, each swearing in hundreds of such cases; where the applicants were not sworn to make true answers when under examination; where a clerk of a court, on orders signed by the judge, gave out full naturalization papers without the appearance in court of any applicants or any witnesses; where the minutes showed that subjects of Great Britain renounced their allegiance to the Emperor of Germany; where, upon names being handed outside the court to persons engaged in making fraudulent naturalizations, papers for those names were brought back on orders signed by the judge either without any evidence or upon evidence wholly fictitious; and where the face of the papers showed to the judge that preliminary declarations had been made less than two years before he signed the orders for naturalization—in some cases less than four months before! If it is difficult to credit the foregoing assertions, a few irrefragable cases may tend to induce belief.

Patrick Hefferman, of 556 West 40th Street, New York, was 21 years old September 2, 1891, and came to this country on the Ger-

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manic August 1, 1888. He was naturalized October 20, 1891. On that day he was introduced by Thomas Keeler to a stranger who went with him to court and signed a paper; then both went before the judge, who asked the stranger something. Hefferman signed nothing, said nothing, but kissed a book and came out a citizen, having taken no oath except that of renunciation and allegiance.

Another immigrant arrived from Ireland, June 18, 1891. In July he made his preliminary declarations. Being a bartender and desiring to be a policeman, he inquired about naturalization and was promptly passed through the naturalization mill, and obtained his final papers October 21, 1891, political agents being prompt to make false affidavits for him without his signing or taking any oath except the final one of renunciation and allegiance.

Charles Hoffstedt was admitted to naturalization on October 20, 1891, on the testimony of George W. Doran, who never saw him until that day.

Patrick Dermody came to this country after he was twenty years old, and never had any first papers, but obtained his final papers October 20, 1891, on the testimony of Doran, whom he had never seen before.

Doran has been convicted of perjury in the Hefferman, Hoffstedt, and Dermody cases.

William Henry Boydell, of 59 West Street, obtained his final papers October 19, 1891. The documents submitted to the judge, on which he signed his order, showed that Boydell made his preliminary declaration December 18, 1889, less than two years before the judge naturalized him. Giacomo Lorenzo had been here two and one-half years and was thirty-two years old, but was naturalized as having come under eighteen and as having lived here five years. So was Francesco Barbarretto, who came two and one-half years before and was twenty-four years old. So were naturalized the Russians Mendel Walser, a new-comer, forty-two years old; Marcus Felson, forty-five years old and here for nine years; and Hyman Jospe, forty-five years old and here for five and one-half years.

At these October naturalizations there were made citizens from Attorney Street, from one house, seven persons; Cannon Street, from one house, five; Clinton Street, from one house, six, from another nine; Delancey Street, from two houses, each six; Elizabeth Street, from one house, seven; Essex street, from one house, five; Forsyth Street, five; James Street, seven; Ludlow, seven; Madison, five; Mott Street,

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from seven houses, five, nine, five, six, eight, nine, and eleven respectively; Norfolk, six; Oliver, five; Pitt, five; Rivington, from three houses nine, five, and six respectively; Rutgers, five; Sheriff, five; Suffolk, from two houses, five each; Sullivan, five; Washington, eight; and Mulberry Street, from six houses, five, eleven, nine, nine, six, and five respectively—thirty-seven houses, in streets all on the east side, except Sullivan and Washington, furnishing two hundred and forty-two aliens for naturalization. And so on without limit.

It must be apparent to every candid and patriotic American, whatever may be his politics, that there is cause for alarm, and that there is real danger if hordes of degraded foreigners accustomed to work for ten and twenty cents per day are to be allowed to swarm into our country, fill the avenues to employment, and reduce the wages of labor to the standard of the countries they have left, and in addition are to be naturalized and become voters without regard to legal conditions. There ought to be no political differences to prevent a united demand for an honest, faithful, and effective enforcement of our present immigration and naturalization laws, and for all helpful additions thereto which can be devised.

Our Existing Laws Restricting Immigration.

Until about the time of the passage of the national statute of 1882 the idea of preventing the landing and causing the return of undesirable immigrants does not seem to have found any foothold. The plan in New York and Massachusetts, where most of the immigrants entered, seemed to be to provide for the diseased and the destitute in state hospitals, and to impose a head tax from the proceeds of which the expenses could be paid. In New York as early as March 30, 1798, the Staten Island hospital was established, and in the Revised Statutes of 1830 it was provided that the health commissioner should collect from every vessel arriving from a foreign port, from the master and each cabin passenger, $1.50, and from each steerage passenger and seaman, $1.00, the sums received to constitute "hospital moneys," to be used mainly for the expenses of the marine hospital.

The Massachusetts statute of April 20, 1837, provided for the examination of alien passengers, and that, if there should be found any lunatic, idiot, maimed, aged, or infirm persons, incompetent in the opinion of the officer examining to maintain themselves, or who had been paupers in any other country, a bond good for ten years against their becoming a public charge should be exacted, and also that a

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head tax of $2.00 should be imposed upon all other alien passengers, the sums collected to be used for the support of foreign paupers.

The constitutionality of these two statutes came before the United States Supreme Court, and they were, at the January term, 1849, decided to be unconstitutional. The cases were those of Smith against Turner and Norris against Boston, known as the Passenger Cases, reported in 7 Howard 283. The decision was given, however, by a closely divided court, Justices McLean, Wayne, Catron, McKinley, and Grier being the majority; and Chief Justice Taney and Justices Daniel, Nelson, and Woodbury dissenting in full opinions. And the controversy continued.

The New York case of Smith against Turner had arisen in 1841. In 1847, 1848, and 1849 New York passed laws designed to evade the objections raised to her Revised Statutes of 1830, and the validity of those new laws came before the Supreme Court in the case of Henderson against the Mayor of New York, which was decided in October, 1875 (92 U. S. 259). In the case of New York City against Miln (11 Peters 103) the Supreme Court had sustained as within the police power of the State a law of New York, of February 11, 1824, requiring the master of every ship or vessel, within twenty-four hours after its arrival, to report to the mayor of the city of New York a list of all persons brought in as passengers; although Mr. Justice Story had dissented and had stated that Chief Justice Marshall, who died before the decision was made, had concurred in the conclusion that the law was void because it was an encroachment upon the power of Congress to regulate commerce. The new laws of New York which were contested in the Henderson case had added to the law of February 11, 1824, the provision that the mayor should indorse upon every list furnished by the master of a ship a demand that he should give a separate bond of $300 for each passenger landed, indemnifying for four years against expenses for the support of such passenger, but with the further provision that the ship-owners might commute for such bond and avoid giving it by paying $1.50 in the case of each passenger. The Supreme Court held these provisions to be mere evasions of the decision in the Passenger Cases, and re-examined and affirmed the doctrine of those cases, Mr. Justice Miller delivering the opinion, and there being no dissent by either Chief Justice Waite or Justices Clifford, Field, Bradley, Swayne, Davis, Strong, or Hunt.

Notwithstanding the decision in the Henderson Case, the State of New York continued to attempt to evade the force of the decisions

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that the State could not tax incoming passengers, and passed a further law of May 31, 1881, imposing a head tax of $1.00 upon every alien arriving in New York City. The validity of this law was negatived in the case of the People against the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique (107 U. S. 59), Mr. Justice Miller delivering the opinion, from which there was no dissent. It had been claimed that the new tax was only to aid in carrying out the inspection laws of New York.

The Supreme Court decisions against the power of any State to collect head money from passengers left the States without the means, except by taxing their own citizens, of paying the expenses of caring for destitute immigrants, and of suitable inspection of immigrants. New York, however, continued such care and inspection down to 1882, and paid many expenses therefor from state funds until the national act of August 3, 1882, was passed. This act was decided to be constitutional in the Head Money Cases (112 U. S. 580).

The prohibitions of Chinese immigration are contained in laws applicable only to the Chinese. The first law excluding European laborers or workmen coming under contract is that of February 26, 1885, and it is re-enforced by the act of February 23, 1887. The first general United States law for the exclusion of immigrants is the above act of August 3, 1882, and this and the contract-labor acts are amended by the new act of March 3, 1891. The present excluded classes (besides Chinese) are: (1) idiots, (2) insane persons, (3) paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, (4) diseased persons, (5) convicts, (6) polygamists, and (7) persons coming under a contract to labor. Persons whose fares are paid or who are assisted to come are subjected to a special inquiry, and if it does not "affirmatively and satisfactorily" appear that they do not belong to one of the above seven classes they are excluded.

A careful examination of all immigrants by sea is made by surgeons and inspectors, and all aliens unlawfully coming are sent back in the same vessel if practicable. Owners of vessels are required under penalty to support while here and to carry back excluded immigrants, and this rule applies to all who may become a public charge within one year after arrival from causes existing prior to their landing. If the ship-owners cannot be compelled to return the alien, he is sent back at the expense of the United States. A penalty is provided for the punishment of any person who shall bring in or aid in bringing in any unlawful immigrant by sea or land. As to immigration across the Canadian and Mexican borders, the secretary of the trea-

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sury is authorized to prescribe rules for inspection which shall not obstruct or unnecessarily delay, impede, or annoy passengers in ordinary travel. No rules have yet been formulated, and the law itself is for the present the only guide to the customs officers on the border.

The act of August 3, 1882, imposing a tax of fifty cents upon each alien passenger coming to this country by sea, except from Canada or Mexico, whether steerage or cabin passenger, whether to stay or return, constituted the sums received an immigration fund, declared what classes of immigrants should be excluded, and provided that the secretary of the treasury might administer the immigration laws through contracts with state boards and commissioners. This method was adopted until the New York contract was abrogated by Secretary Windom, in April, 1891, and the laws are now administered in New York City and in all the seaports by the direct action of treasury inspectors, the New York City station having been changed first from Castle Garden to the Barge Office, and on January 1, 1892, to the new buildings on Ellis' Island.

The act of March 3, 1891, was the outcome of the investigations and action of the two committees on immigration of the Senate and House under a concurrent resolution of March 12, 1890, and the reports of the committees are printed as Senate Report No. 936, Fifty-first Congress, First Session; House Report No. 3,472, Fifty-first Congress, Second Session; and House Report No. 4,048, Fifty-first Congress, Second Session.

What New Laws are Needed?

A natural method of considering what new laws are needed is to inquire what suggestions for new legislation have been made by persons who have studied the subject or have views thereon. With a view to concentrating opinions for use by the Senate Committee on Immigration, there was published on the 20th of August, 1891, a circular making various inquiries grouped as twelve questions. These, omitting some statements and comments which accompanied them, were as follows:

I. Shall the list of excluded persons be enlarged; and if so, by what new exclusions?

II. Shall anarchists and socialists be excluded; and if so, how shall they be defined?

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III. Shall an educational qualification for admission be required; and if so, how shall it be applied to families?

IV. Shall a property qualification be prescribed?

V. Shall immigrants from any particular countries (besides China) be excluded?

VI. Shall stricter methods of inspection be used; if so, what?

VII. Shall more cubic feet of space for each passenger be required on the steamships, and the cost of coming be increased?

VIII. Shall the head tax be increased above 50 cents up to $3.00, $5.00, or $10.00?

IX. Shall a consular certificate of his right to come be procured by the immigrant before starting, either at his pleasure or compulsorily?

X. Shall passengers by land over the Canadian or Mexican borders be examined with the same strictness as passengers by sea from Europe?

XI. Concerning naturalization; shall aliens give three months' notice of their intention to apply for final papers, and shall there be any other restrictions on naturalization?

XII. Can any improvement of the contract-labor laws be suggested?

The answers to these inquiries are not numerous, nor are many specific suggestions made, and opinions widely differ. The extreme view on one side is doubtless that of Mr. Henry George, who is reported in the New York *Recorder* of August 24, 1891, as saying: "I do not believe any restriction whatever upon the immigration of people from Europe of the Caucasian race, who are not diseased and who are not chronic paupers or criminals, is needed, or is in accordance with the spirit of our institutions. We should have room enough for the whole population of Europe, were not our lands monopolized, and were they taken from the grasp of those who hold them for no other purpose than the hope of profiting by their increasing value. The effect of the coming here of the whole population of Europe would be but to raise wages, increase our prosperity, and augment our strength. I do not deem it necessary that immigrants should be compelled to read, write, or speak the English language before becoming naturalized. They can become good citizens without it." The extreme opinion on the other side appears to be that of a citizen of New Jersey who says of immigration: "My own opinion is that it should be stopped entirely and immediately; that it is dangerous to admit

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more till those that are here are fully Americanized, which it will take years to accomplish."

It cannot be asserted that there is a consensus of opinion in favor of any specific addition to our statute laws. There may be said to be an almost universal alarm at the character of many recent immigrants, and a belief that there is a real danger to the best interests of the country therefrom, which ought to be arrested by new methods; but to the inquiry what those methods should be there is no satisfactory answer.

Among the plans which do not meet with any considerable favor is the enlargement of the list of classes already excluded. The difficulty of defining anarchists and socialists is the great obstacle to inserting them among the proscribed classes. To begin now to adopt the new and radical policy of excluding those who in general terms may be called good immigrants, for the reason that however good they are we want no more of them, instead of continuing to limit our exclusions to bad immigrants, is a change not seriously advocated by any one. We may come to such a decision in the future, but not now. A property qualification beyond the necessities of the journey to the ultimate destination in this country of a good immigrant or a good family, is not urged by many, nor the exclusion of any particular European races, nor any increase of the head tax beyond the expenses of properly administering the immigration laws, for the purpose by such tax of deterring immigration.

The fact, however, cannot be overlooked that there is a general feeling in favor of passing any suggested laws which may tend more strictly to enforce the present exclusions; also that better steamship accommodations should be required, even if the number of immigrants is thereby lessened. The one specific measure which finds the most favor is the establishment of some system of certificates issued abroad by which the immigrant may before he leaves his own country prove his right to enter the United States.

It is difficult to give a trustworthy answer to the question whether Congress will pass more restrictive laws. The question is put in this form rather than whether Congress ought to pass more restrictive laws, in order to call attention to the exact present situation. We are at the beginning of a presidential canvass. The House is overwhelmingly democratic, the Senate strongly republican. The subject of immigration and naturalization is a delicate one for both political parties, and no laws can be passed at the present session to subserve any

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political purpose, or without the almost unanimous consent of both parties.

The report of the commission appointed by Secretary Foster, which visited Europe during last summer, composed of Messrs. John B. Weber, Walter D. Kempster, Judson N. Cross, Joseph Powderly, and Herman J. Schulteis, is not yet received, nor has the secretary of the treasury or the President made any recommendations for legislation. However, there should be, I think, general concurrence by the committees of the two Houses and in Congress (if we go no further) in the following propositions:

I. All laws should be passed which the secretary of the treasury may recommend to enable him fully and efficiently to enforce the existing statutory exclusions of bad immigrants. No person advocates the repeal of any of those exclusions. The decisions of the inspecting officers as to the right of any person to land is final unless reversed on appeal by the superintendent of immigration acting under the supervision of the secretary; and this power of final decision has been recently upheld by the Supreme Court in the case of the Japanese, Nishimura Ekiu, decided January 18, 1892. The secretary may not ask for further powers, but if he does his reasonable requests should be granted. A rigid enforcement of existing laws, not only in our seaports but along the Canadian border, across which stricter administration in our seaports may lead undesirable immigrants to attempt an entrance, may result in quieting the alarm and averting the dangers from bad immigration, and in satisfying our people of the sufficiency of our present rules of exclusion. If we can surely keep out every person and family "likely to become a public charge," we shall have erected a strong and perhaps sufficient barrier against undesirable immigration. This we have not hitherto done; but there is great improvement and marked success attending our present administration of the statutes.

II. The greatest embarrassment in our present system of inspection being the painful necessity of often sending poor and miserable immigrants back three thousand miles over a weary waste of waters to a lot hopeless and helpless, new legislation should be so directed as to tend to prevent excluded persons from ever leaving their own country. Therefore, heavier responsibilities should be placed upon the steamship companies. Laws and regulations should be so framed and enforced that before long it may appear that no immigrants will have to be sent back, for the simple and satisfactory reason that the

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steamship companies will not dare to bring any about whose right to admission there is the slightest doubt.

III. A law should be passed increasing the number of cubic feet of space on each steamship for each immigrant, and requiring better sanitary arrangements, going sufficiently into details to make sure there shall be few evasions and that violations of the law shall never go unpunished. There will be found needed for such immigrants as will be welcome to this country more and better accommodations on shipboard than the laws now require. They should not be demanded merely in order to make immigration more expensive and thereby to diminish its volume; but if humanity suggests the improved methods, they should not be omitted because such results may incidentally follow.

IV. In further pursuance of the exceedingly meritorious idea of stopping immigrants on the other side of the ocean, instead of forcing them back from this side after their long and weary journey to the land of promise, there ought not to be any objection to allowing persons intending to come to the United States to prove to the satisfaction of our consuls or special officials abroad that our laws do not prohibit their immigration, and to obtain certificates accordingly. Such a bill is now before the Senate, No. 134, introduced December 10, 1891. Under this a certificate does not give to any person the right to enter, but further inquiries may be made by the inspection officers on this side. Neither is the immigrant compelled to obtain the certificate. He may come without it if he choose, but in that event the inquiry here will be more rigid. Persons intending to come, usually take plenty of time in preparation, and will gladly secure certificates, especially those who come in families.

If the voluntary-certificate system after an adequate trial works satisfactorily, it can be made compulsory later if necessary, but it may never be deemed necessary. Steamship companies will protect themselves by requiring a certificate in every doubtful case, and the immigrant will not be allowed to start without it. Heavy responsibility of steamship companies, certificates abroad if asked for, and strict inspection on this side of the water, will make almost impossible the evasions practised at the present time.

It is fair to state that objections deemed cogent are raised even to a system of voluntary certificates, to the effect (1) that through the unfaithfulness of our consuls or inspectors abroad false certificates may be issued which will prevent strict scrutiny by our home inspec-

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tors and admit many immigrants excluded by law; and (2) that even where consuls or inspectors abroad are faithful, false testimony may be easily imposed upon them when a country wishes to get rid of bad citizens; while (3) the publicity of the proceedings will make it difficult for good citizens to get away from countries desirous of retaining them for military or other reasons. The objections, however, are not sufficiently well founded to overcome the arguments in favor of the voluntary-certificate system.

V. The bonding system should be wholly abolished. When the inspectors, the superintendent of immigration, and the secretary of the treasury have decided, after summary proceedings, that aliens asking for admission are "likely to become a public charge," these aliens should go back. No bond that, if persons so adjudged to be unfit to come do actually become paupers, some benevolent person or some charitable society will reimburse the public treasuries for the poor-funds expended, should be allowed to open our gates for the admission into our communities of persons likely to become a public charge. The question of immediate or remote pauper expense is not the whole question nor the main question.

We certainly have no desire to attempt to absorb into our body politic any persons of this description who have failed to pass the prescribed ordeal. The injury they do us goes far beyond any money loss. They are undesirable immigrants, condemned as such by our laws and the authorities directed to administer the laws. We sympathize deeply with a race impoverished and driven from home by a cruel edict; but our duties to our own citizens are imperative. We cannot take the vast numbers who wish to come. We must not take any whom our laws exclude, merely because a noble charity helps them to come and offers bonds for their temporary support. These very charitable deeds and offers prove that the objects thereof are by legal command barred from entrance into the United States. If so, there is no statutory authority for admitting them under bonds, the bonds taken are practically useless, and they should not be authorized, but should be disallowed by law.

VI. Concerning naturalization: The present laws passed in 1802 and 1824 allow aliens to become naturalized after five years' residence. If they come when over eighteen years of age, they must make a preliminary declaration at least two years before receiving their final papers. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the wisdom of adding to the above provisions an educational qualification or

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imposing other new conditions, there should be a general agreement to a requirement that an alien seeking his final papers shall give three months' notice in the court from which he asks such papers, so that the case may be inquired into, and opposition made if the facts warrant it. The greatest abuses in naturalization grow out of the absence of such a notice. The aliens are not heard of a single minute before they appear with their witnesses; nobody is prepared to represent the other side, and in a moment the valuable franchise of American citizenship is conferred, practically irrevocable even if fraud or falsehood is subsequently discovered, while a presidential election may have been decided by the votes of a few among the thousands of such aliens.

If the foregoing suggestions for new laws should be found acceptable and should be embodied in legislation, the people and their senators and representatives might perhaps wisely wait a year or more before seriously considering new exclusions of immigrants and more radical limitations of naturalization.

WM. E. CHANDLER.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE MARCH FORUM.

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE (*Political Corruption in Maryland*) was born in Baltimore in 1851. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1871 and at the Harvard Law School in 1874. He is a prominent member of the National Civil Service Association, and has been active in other movements for political reform.

CLARENCE KING (*The Education of the Future*) was born in Newport, R. I., in 1843, and was graduated at the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University in 1862. For four years he was connected with the geological survey of California. He then made geological surveys for the government over the routes of the Union and Central Pacific railroads. In 1878 he organized the United States Geological Survey, having secured the passage through Congress of the act to establish it. Mr. King is a member of several of the leading scientific societies in this country and in Europe.

E. O. LEECH (*Would Free Coinage Bring European Silver Here?*) was born in Washington, D. C., about forty-two years ago. He was graduated from the National University of Washington, D. C., and entered the service of the Mint Bureau about 1873. He is now at the head of the bureau. He has frequently appeared in the House before the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, and is regarded as authority on all matters pertaining to coinage.

RICHARD P. BLAND (*Free Coinage and an Elastic Currency*) was born in Kentucky in 1835 and was self-educated. He taught school, studied law, and then settled in Missouri. Later he removed to Nevada, where he practised law and became interested in mining. He returned to Missouri in 1855, and since 1873 he has been a member of Congress from that State. He is the author of the well-known "Bland Bill," passed in the Forty-fourth Congress for the coinage of $2,000,000 in silver per month, and is the most prominent advocate of free silver coinage in this country.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY (*A Case of Good City Government*) on graduating from Harvard College studied for the Unitarian ministry. After his ordination, he became an instructor at Harvard, where he is now professor of social science. He has also been for several years a preacher to the university. He has devoted much of his life to the study of questions of social reform.

E. P. ALEXANDER (*Industrial Progress of the South*) was graduated at West Point in 1857 and appointed second lieutenant of the U. S. Engineer Corps. He entered the Confederate army as Captain of Engineers in 1861 and served through the war, being promoted to the rank of Brigadier General of Artillery. Since 1871 he has devoted himself to railroad interests in the South and West. He is the author of a work on "Railway Practice" and various pamphlets and magazine articles on railroad and military subjects.

JOHN EARLE (*The Study of English*) was graduated at Oxford in 1845.

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He was ordained for the ministry in 1849. Most of his life has been spent in teaching English at Oxford, in writing on his subject and in editing. Since 1876 he has been professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford. He has written "The Philology of the English Tongue," "English Prose: Its Elements, History, and Usage," and other works, and has contributed numerous articles to periodicals.

COURTNAY DE KALB (*The Intercontinental Railroad Problem*) was born in Virginia in 1861. He is a mining engineer, has travelled much and has lived in Mexico, and in Central and South America, of whose affairs he has been a close student. His writings on South American subjects in "The Nation" and other periodicals have attracted attention both here and abroad, and many of them have been translated into Spanish and republished in South America.

WALTER BESANT (*The Work of the British Society of Authors*) was born at Portsmouth, England, and was educated at King's College, London, and at Christ's College, Cambridge. He is one of the best known of living English novelists. He wrote in collaboration with James Rice many novels. Since the death of Rice, he has written "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," "The Revolt of Man," "Dorothy Forster," and other novels and stories. He is the originator and the chief supporter of the British Society of Authors.

CHARLES BURR TODD (*The Case of the American Author*) was born in Connecticut in 1849. He is the author of "A General History of the Burr Family in America," a "History of Redding, Conn.," "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," and "The Story of the City of New York." He has also contributed various articles to the magazines.

COL. ALBERT A. POPE (*An Industrial Revolution by Good Roads*) was born about forty-five years ago. He joined the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment in 1862 and won by his good service the title of colonel. He was one of the first Americans to become interested in bicycling in this country, and has done as much as any one to make it popular. He founded the company for the manufacture of bicycles well known by his name, and has made a fortune in this industry. He has also devoted much time and money to the improvement of roads.

DAVID SWING (*What the American Sunday Should Be*) was born in Cincinnati in 1830, and was graduated at Miami University in 1852. He was professor of languages in this university for twelve years; in 1866 he became pastor of a Presbyterian church in Chicago. He was tried for heresy in 1874, and was acquitted. He then withdrew from the Presbyterian Church. He is now independent of denominational relations. Professor Swing has frequently written for reviews and magazines.

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER (*Methods of Restricting Immigration*) was born in Concord, N. H., in 1835, and was graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1855. He was reporter to the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and later a member of the legislature, serving two terms as speaker. In 1865 he was appointed assistant secretary of the treasury, but resigned after two years. He was appointed secretary of the navy in 1882. He is now serving his second term in the United States Senate.

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